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Ukraine Ministry Vows Missiles No 'Second Chernobyl'

OW2002180393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 20 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The statement of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry distributed in Kiev cites that the responsibility for the security of the nuclear weapons stationed on the territory of Ukraine should be placed on Russia. The difficulties which the republic is experiencing due to the poor technical maintenance of the rocket complexes are caused by the shortages in deliveries of necessary components and spare parts from Russia.

The statement emphasizes that the messages of the Russian mass media about the possibility of "a second Chernobyl" at Ukraine's missile complexes are groundless. During their last meeting in Moscow the Presidents of both countries reached an agreement to develop the logistic system in order to supply Ukrainian missiles with necessary Russian spare parts. The state commission of Russia and Ukraine have already conducted the first round of negotiations on security problems and on implementation of the provisions of the START-1 Treaty.

The Ukrainian Defense Ministry is convinced that today there are no grounds to doubt as both neighboring friendly states can ensure appropriate security of nuclear missiles stationed in Ukraine.

'Difficulties' Servicing Nuclear Arms

LD2002080293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 20 Feb 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Defense Ministry has confirmed some difficulties in servicing the former USSR's nuclear warheads on the republic's territory. However, a Defense Ministry spokesman refuted the possibility of a nuclear incident, as mentioned in IZVESTIYA recently. The ministry spokesman noted that the absence of spare parts from Russia made servicing the nuclear warheads difficult. The spokesman did not define precisely which spare parts he meant. Another Ukrainian military department spokesman earlier this week partially confirmed the IZVESTIYA report which stated that the schedule for servicing the missiles has not been followed. Faults were discovered in 19 of the missiles during checks.

Envoy to Moscow on Need for Russian START I Guarantees

OW1802192593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1748 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Ambassador to Russia Vladimir Kryzhanovsky said the Ukrainian parliament's ratification of the START-1 treaty is being held up by the lack of corresponding guarantees from Russia. In an interview with INTERFAX Thursday [18 February] he listed the three points on which Kiev is insisting: military assistance from Russia in the event of an attack against Ukraine, a promise that Moscow will not put economic pressure on Kiev, and a guarantee of Ukraine's territorial integrity and the inviolability of the country's borders with Russia.

According to Kryzhanovsky, the Russian president himself offered to give Ukraine these guarantees. "We will wait for them, since it would be awkward for us to go against the wishes of the Russian president," said the ambassador.

Concerning the reports that 16 missile silos on Ukrainian territory are not up to security regulations, the ambassador warned against "dramatizing the situation." "We hope," Kryzhanovsky said, "that a corresponding agreement on servicing missile sites will be signed with the Russian Defense Minister in the near future." He pledged, "the problem will be solved, and there will not be another Chernobyl." The ambassador also reported that the Russian and Ukrainian prime ministers will be meeting in the near future "in Tyumen, Surgut, and Orenburg." He said he hoped that Chernomyrdin would reconsider the decision to supply Ukraine with only 15 million tons of oil. "There will be famine in Ukraine if they leave us without fuel," warned Kryzhanovsky, "and Russia hardly wants this."

Ukrainian-Russian Recriminations Over Warhead Maintenance

PM2202123193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 93 Morning Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Arguments About Missiles Continue. The Danger Remains"]

[Text] Following an article in IZVESTIYA (No. 29 dated 16 February) on the problems of maintaining the nuclear safety of strategic weapons in Ukraine, that country's Ministry of Defense has still not acknowledged that missiles deployed there on combat alert are in a state of disrepair and that gross violations of the maintenance schedule are occurring on both the SS-24 strategic missiles themselves and on their warheads.

Lieutenant General Aleksey Kryzhko, chief of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry Center for the Administrative Command and Control of Strategic Nuclear Forces, has admitted, according to ASSOCIATED PRESS and INTERFAX, that the combat readiness of 16 strategic nuclear missile launch installations is at a low level and another three are simply beyond repair.

According to the general, INTERFAX reports, equipment for them has already been manufactured at a plant in Kharkov, but "owing to a lack of other components" they have not yet been installed. I was told by the duty officer at the Ukrainian center—I was unable to get through to Gen. Kryzhko—that an official answer by the

Ukrainian Ministry of Defense regarding the newspaper article has been prepared, and the editorial office and authorized foreign representatives will be notified of it.

ASSOCIATED PRESS reports that Ukraine has blamed Russia for the problems which have arisen in connection with the servicing schedule of missile complexes, since Russia has refused to carry out servicing checks until the state status of the strategic nuclear forces stationed on Ukrainian territory has been defined.

For their part, Russian missile launcher crewmen are accusing their Ukrainian colleagues of not concluding appropriate contracts with Russian enterprises for carrying out this work and not allocating the necessary funds for it. Moreover, the Strategic Rocket Forces specialists stress, the SS-24 missiles are assembled at "Yuzhmashzavod" in Dnepropetrovsk, and Stanislav Konyukhov, general designer at the "Yuzhnoye" Design Bureau, is responsible for their care afterwards, but the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense has not even allocated enough money to pay for the work of its own specialists or for equipment and spare parts manufactured in this state.

In our opinion, who is right and who is wrong in this dispute is far from the central problem. Behind the mutual recriminations the main point about maintaining the nuclear safety of the missile complexes at Pervomaysk is almost imperceptibly slipping into the background.

We are not just talking about the missiles here, but primarily about their combat warhead parts—dozens of nuclear charges [boyezaryady] in each missile silo housing the SS-24's. Their yield is far higher than that of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima. In line with all nuclear safety regulations, these warheads should be serviced and maintenance work should be carried out on them only at the plants where they were constructed. These plants are not in Ukraine.

Delays lasting many months in carrying out maintenance work on nuclear warheads and replacing parts in them that have reached the end of their guaranteed service life is a very risky business. Specialists are well aware of this.

But it is precisely this question—perhaps the most important one—which is not being resolved in the most basic way.

The problem is the absence of political decisions. Military experts and missile launcher crewmen are saying that all the current problems—whether financial, economic, technical, or operational—have turned into political problems. On both sides, the generals and colonels themselves, fully aware of the consequences that may be caused by delays in resolving the technical issues of ensuring the nuclear safety of the missile complexes, can do nothing however much they may want to.

It is the politicians who must make the decisions. And the sooner the better. But the politicians are temporizing. Why? Nuclear weapons are not like the navy, they cannot be divided up into respective Russian and Ukrainian parts.

Officers Union Leader Criticizes START II Treaty

OW2002145893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 20 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday [20 February] several dozens of people in uniform gathered in the building of the former Proletarskiy regional council of Moscow. Stanislav Terekhov, the leader of the Officers Union who chaired the meeting, proclaimed [the] opening of the All-Army Officers Assembly. According to Terekhov, the officers who have come to Moscow "represent practically all military districts and fleets of Russia and of several CIS states." Leaders of several opposition organizations, in particular, Sazhi Umalatova, the leader of the restored Russian Communist Party Gennadiy Zyuganov, Aleksandr Sterligov, and Albert Makashov attended the meeting. The participants of the meeting unanimously elected Stanislav Terekhov as the chairman of the permanent ruling body of the All-Army Officers Assembly.

In his report Terekhov pointed out that "the modern world is nearing a new system headed by the United States" and the third world war—an information-intellectual one—is being waged against Russia; as Terekhov said, "mafia-nomenclature elements" are waging this war inside the country. Terekhov declared that disarmament of the army "is being conducted by means of conclusion of different treaties, like, for example, the START II Treaty, mass discharge of patriotic officers." The participants of the meeting accused the Russian Defense Minister, Pavel Grachev, of "high treason," "corruption" and demanded his resignation. They believe that the whole Cabinet of Ministers also deserves resignation.

In Terekhov's words, this All-Army Officers Assembly should become "an organizational basis for army's revival," it is necessary to create its structures in all military units.

On Sunday the meeting held in the Proletarskiy regional council will continue its work. A press conference is expected to be convened after the participants of the meeting complete their work.

EBRD President Notes Change in Position on Ruble Zone

OW1902172493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1455 GMT 19 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] has changed its attitude to the ruble zone, EBRD President Jacques Attali announced during a press conference in Minsk.

He told INTERFAX that on Friday [19 February] he met with Belarusian Vice-Premier Mikhail Myasnikovich to discuss problems facing the ruble zone. Whereas previously the EBRD thought that the ruble zone was important for the CIS, now we are convinced that it should be divided into several parts, he said.

He also pointed out that the policies of the sovereign states' central banks was the cause of hyperinflation. We therefore think, he said, that each of the CIS countries should have a national currency of its own. He also said that this problem should not be tackled in haste and that it must be made the subject of a serious discussion.

Shaposhnikov Holds Talks With Norwegian Commander

LD2402103093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1053 GMT 24 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Feb—Topical problems of strengthening security and peace were discussed at a meeting today between Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, amd Admiral Torolf Rein, commander of the Armed Forces of Norway, who is on an official visit to Russia.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the public information center of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Command that the meeting had noted the growing importance of business-like contacts and ties between the military structures of the CIS states and NATO as an important factor of mutual understanding, trust, and stability.

Both Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and Admiral Torolf Rein stressed the need for a constructive, considered approach to the issues arising from the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic republics. The fundamental importance of resolving the problems of all nuclear powers halting nuclear testing on a reciprocal basis, ensuring effective centralized control over nuclear weapons on the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and implementing the START I treaty and the Lisbon Protocol to it were noted.

Today the commander of the Armed Forces of Norway will visit the Kubinka air garrison near Moscow and meet with Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy.

U.S. Summit Reportedly Scheduled for March

LD2302204893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] A Russian-American summit may be held as soon as March, a Russian diplomat who wished to remain unknown, reported to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY.

Upcoming Christopher-Kozyrev Meeting Previewed

OW2302165793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1646 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The date and place for the Russian-American summit are not likely to be made public after Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev meets with his U.S. counterpart, Secretary of State Warren Christopher. A high-standing official at the Russian MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] in charge of Russian-American relations indicated this to a group of journalists on Tuesday [23 February].

In his words, during their meeting in Geneva, Andrey Kozyrev and Warren Christopher will "for the first time exchange their opinions." Moscow is looking forward to suggestions from the U.S. in that regard.

In terms of their preparations for the summit, the parties have already discussed options for the summit to take place "in March" and in "a third country," without making any actual commitments regarding the place or the date of the presidents' meeting.

According to the Russian MFA official, the meeting between Andrey Kozyrev and Warren Christopher will last for about three hours on the premises of Russia's UN mission in Geneva. The sides have agreed to conduct their discussions without interpreters in order to save more time for addressing all the issues on their agenda.

Apart from experts in the Russian-American bilateral relations, each delegation will include 2-3 experts on other regions.

The Russian diplomat observed that "50-60 percent of the U.S. team had been actively involved with us before President Clinton's election," while some of them are now coming in new capacity. In his words, the parties will not be seeing each other for the sake of "acquaintanceship," emphasizing that it will be a "strictly working meeting."

In the words of the Russian MFA official, Russia is highly interested in the information on recent developments in the U.S., particularly on the interdependence of President Clinton's foreign and domestic policies. In the meantime, Washington, he said, is expected to be interested in information pertaining to the situation in Russia and possible ways for overcoming the ongoing confrontation between the executive and legislative power branches in Russia.

Andrey Kozyrev, he said, is ready for such a dialog, emphasizing that it should be "a dialog rather than a seminar or a quiz when the Russian foreign minister would only have to answer the questions asked of him."

The subjects to be addressed in Geneva include the situation in various "trouble spots" particularly, in the former Yugoslavia and in the Middle East.

The representative of the Russian MFA also revealed that following the press conference on the results of his meeting with Warren Christopher in Geneva, Andrey Kozyrev will leave for Denmark on an official visit, while the U.S. Secretary of State will depart for Brussels.

In Denmark, the Russian foreign minister will discuss, primarily, Russia's bilateral relations with that country (their 500-year- anniversary to be celebrated in 1993—Interfax), as well as issues of Russia's cooperation with the European Community (Denmark currently presiding in the EC). The last subject, in the words of the Russian diplomat, is especially important, considering Russia is gearing up for wide-scale cooperation with the EC.

New State Department Measures Lessen Country's Role

MK2402092693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 93 p 4

[Report by Igor Drobyshev: "Restructuring in the State Department Indicates That Relations With Russia Will Play a Smaller Role for the United States Than Before"]

[Text] New York— The tough cost-cutting campaign the White House has imposed on itself did not take U.S. State Department staffers by surprise. Its new boss, Warren Christopher, anticipated it by embarking on fundamental restructuring in line with the new foreign policy blueprint. To all appearances it is as simple as Ross Perot's straightforward statements, and it amounts to conducting a cheap foreign policy, which, in turn, will produce cheap and sensible foreign policy decisions.

The purpose of the administrative revolution initiated by Christopher in the State Department is to enhance significantly the role of career diplomats, people with professional knowledge of countries, capable of elaborating these decisions. This line is markedly different from the practice under the former boss of the foreign policy department, James Baker, who relied solely on the opinions of a small group of trusted officials, often incompetent political appointees. In particular, they would typically ignore information sent from American embassies, which often led to serious errors. For example, as THE WASHINGTON TIMES points out, back in 1990 U.S. diplomats in Yugoslavia warned the State Department that Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic was pursuing a policy that might lead to

large-scale bloodshed. But their reports were ignored by Baker's deputy at the time, Lawrence Eagleburger, and the U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmerman.

Something similar occurred after the abortive August putsch in the USSR, when young U.S. Embassy staffers reported that, in their assessment, Mikhail Gorbachev's days were numbered, that the Soviet Union would subsequently break up into 15 independent states, and that it would be advisable to give as much support as possible to Boris Yeltsin as soon as possible. Ambassador to Moscow Robert Strauss and Secretary of State James Baker rejected this view.

Warren Christopher has abolished State Department sinecures—a number of posts which were specially created for the Reagan and Bush administrations' political proteges and which gave access to other countries' top people during their visits to the United States. Now young diplomats will get the chance to meet with them too.

The new secretary of state has also made a number of important U.S. Embassy appointments. For instance, Thomas Pickering, confirmed as ambassador to Moscow, is regarded as a very experienced professional. He has been U.S. representative at the United Nations and ambassador to India and Israel. But Pickering has never handled Russian affairs. Moreover, as a State Department aide told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, he is regarded as an executive diplomat and is not in any way a prominent political figure in Washington. "Unlike Jack Matlock or Robert Strauss, he cannot pick up the telephone and call the President, the secretary of state, or the President's national security assistant direct from Moscow."

Strobe Talbott, who has been given the post of special ambassador in the State Department, will be responsible for devising policy in relations with Russia. Talbott, who was for a long time senior editor at TIME magazine, is seen as an admirer of Mikhail Gorbachev and an advocate of the development of Soviet-American relations and detente. The main thing is that he is a personal friend of Bill Clinton's and was at Oxford with him 20 years ago. It is not impossible that he will have as much influence as Christopher himself.

But, according to one State Department aide, Talbott is an outsider who has never worked in government service, which could lead to bureaucratic conflict with other senior officials—career diplomats, who may oppose the decisions he makes.

One way or another, the feeling is that the appointment of Pickering indicates that relations with Russia will play a less significant role in U.S. foreign policy in the future.

U.S. Consulate in Vladivostok Begins Issuing Visas

LD2402105793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0607 GMT 24 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Lents]

[Text] Vladivostok, 24 Feb—Beginning today, the residents of the Russian Far East no longer have to fly to Moscow to get American visas. The U.S. Consulate General, which opened in Vladivostok in September last year, has begun to process the documents of those wishing to visit America.

The consulate will be able to serve not only those living in the Far East, but all Russians and residents of other countries who are in Vladivostok. According to a report from its staff, the issuing of visas to Russians will be free, although an American will pay up to $70 for a Russian visa.

Commentary Views Work of U.S. 'Fifth Columns'

MK2302112893 Moscow DEN in Russian No. 7 21-27 Feb 93 p 2

[Viktor Filatov article: "Blackwill—the Secret Defense Minister of Russian Federation"]

[Text] Well, who were the Decembrists on Senatskaya Square? And who was Tukhachevskiy and company?

These days, for instance, everybody knows Robert Kriebl, the godfather of the fifth column in the USSR. That fifth column consists of "agents of influence," for example Murashev, the boilerman-turned-militiaman, or "pig," as they say in the criminal underworld. The signs are that it was Kriebl who made Murashev chief of the Moscow Main Administration for Internal Affairs—the result is plain to see. Murashev "helped us on behalf of the interregional deputies group, and he organized the first conference in 1989," Kriebl says candidly, sitting in the heart of the Moscow that he has conquered. Do you remember who the members of that interregional group were? Everybody from Popov to Afanasyev, in other words the people who are now "at the helm." The result is plain to see.

Kriebl's fifth column is now busy dismembering Russia into 52 "states." It appears, however, that this has already happened. Otherwise, why would Kriebl be planning a gigantic enterprise project in the south of Russia? There are plenty of free raw materials, not to mention a workforce that is ready to work for a bowl of soup. Have they gone ahead with developing the occupied territories?

Robert Blackwill (we seem to be burdened with nothing but Roberts) used to be U.S. President Bush's special adviser on the USSR and Eastern Europe. He, too, has the ways of an occupier, contending that everything he has done was solely in the U.S. national interests and has nothing to do with charity.

Blackwill is doing very much the same as Kriebl, but his fifth column is operating on another section of the front—in the army. They began knocking it together in 1989, at the same time as Kriebl's fifth column was formed. They are operating according to the same plan and a completely synchronized timetable.

If I am not mistaken, Murashev has been replaced by Colonel General Smirnov, chief of the Defense Ministry's main administration. The military section of the interregional group comprised 29 generals and senior officers, primarily chiefs and deputy chiefs of main administrations. After the Soviet Army was routed outside the White House, virtually the next day the 29 "great military leaders" were urgently summoned to the United States. I do not think that they went there to receive instructions about how to get their innocent defense minister released from jail. Permission to travel was given by Shaposhnikov—the very same man who was ready to issue orders to bomb the Kremlin should their putsch fall through. This must have been why the cowardly Gorbachev was sitting in Foros, because he knew that he might be hit by one of Shaposhnikov's and his masters' bombs. Or maybe he himself was planning that scenario?

For the benefit of the simple-minded, the trip to the United States was described as "participation in a seminar." With Kriebl it was the "1989 conference." Incidentally, Kriebl is trying to disguise his fifth column as the public "Kriebl Institute—the Independent Congress Foundation." Kriebl, after all, is the founder and chairman of the Locktight [as transliterated] corporation, which under his leadership evolved from a tiny group of three people into one of the world's 500 most prosperous companies.

Blackwill operates even more unscrupulously than Kriebl. Blackwill's hornet nest is called the "Harvard University John Kennedy School of Government." The trips by the "group of 29" to the United States, the "souvenirs," "presents," and so forth were all paid for by the U.S. Government. There should be no covers such as the Kriebl Foundation. Everybody should know that the generals from Moscow are fully in the pay of the U.S. Government, just like the U.S. generals.

Kriebl's "interregional group" is the fifth column within the echelons of power. Blackwill's "group of 29" is the fifth column in the army. A year after the first "rally," the "Blackwill group" was again taken to the United States. This "rally" was blessed by Grachev. The "training stint" was not confined to a sandbox mock-up. The following problems were discussed: What is the national security of the United States? What is the speediest way of implementing a conversion program, that is to say, the speediest way of wiping out our industry? And of course, arms control—applied, naturally, to our arms. Do you have any more questions about how the 1991 version of the 1941 plan was prepared for us—except that it was not called "Barbarossa," but the "START-conversion" plan?

The smug Americans issued a sort of certificate to each member of the "Blackwill group"—an employment contract with the U.S. Government. In the past this was called an undertaking to work for an enemy intelligence service.

Recently Papa Blackwill arrived in Moscow in the flesh. He had a private meeting with each member of the "group of 29" —thank God in a restaurant, not as yet in Grachev's office. Indeed, what could possibly be a more suitable surrounding for a present-day general of the Burlakov type? They were having not only vodka pumped into them. Within the next few days Kriebl is also holding a meeting of his "bunch." What is afoot? Why this sudden surge of activity? What is going on? Could it be that cadres are being recruited for a direct military occupation?

In 1937, eight people were executed by firing squad, along with the pro-Nazi Tukhachevskiy, out of the entire fifth column that was created within our army by the Germans. But what if tomorrow power in this country is taken over by other people—not from the CIA?

Serbia's Milosevic Warned Against Attacks on Policy

OW2302154093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1504 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It would be a mistake to believe that Russia will allow to insult itself [as received], said the Russian Foreign Ministry in a statement published on Tuesday [23 February] in connection with reports that President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia resorted to attacks on Russia's policy in the Balkans.

As the statement says, the world community decided to impose sanctions against the United Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) after repeated attempts to bring the conflicting sides, including Belgrade, to reason. "Before the imposition of sanctions Russia also warned the Serbian authorities led by Milosevic, but its warning brought no results."

The recent positive changes in Belgrade's approaches, and the world community's reaction to them have clearly shown the ways to seek a peaceful settlement. "Let's hope that Slobodan Milosevic, even though he is not the head of the united state of Yugoslavia, will act responsibly as the president of Serbia, and refrain from such statements toward Russia, a country which is doing its best to bring peace to the peoples of former Yugoslavia, including the people of Serbia. In this case the door to our further cooperation will remain open," the document said.

Bosnian Negotiating Efforts Hailed

OW2302154793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1504 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It's necessary to exert additional efforts to gain a mutually-acceptable agreement between the conflicting sides in Bosnia, said Russia's Foreign Ministry in its statement published on Tuesday [23 February]. Substantial work in this direction has been done by the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, by the special envoys of Russia and the USA, by the UN Secretary General, the statement says.

According to the statement, Moscow has noted with satisfaction that the leaders of the conflicting sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina displayed willingness to return to the negotiating table, and it hopes that "appropriately authorized representatives of Bosnia will arrive in New York without delay to jointly engage in constructive work".

The document also says that the talks on settling the conflict in Bosnia have entered a decisive phase, when the possibility of restoring peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina depends on the political will of the conflicting sides to overcome their remaining differences.

Intelligence Service Revives Contacts With East Europe

MK2302144293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Feb 93 p 10

[Mikhail Lukin, Aleksandr Stukalin report: "Yevgeniy Primakov's Visit to Hungary. Russian Intelligence Reestablishes Lost Connections"]

[Text] Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, returned to Moscow on 21 February after a week-long trip to Europe. After Bonn, he visited Budapest, where he was received by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antal and held talks with Tibor Fuzessi, minister-coordinator of the civilian special services, thus making a start to restoring the Russian Intelligence Service's contacts with its East European counterparts.

Primakov's talks in Hungary went beyond the currently usual topics of cooperation in combating international terrorism, organized crime, the illicit drug business, and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Tatyana Samolis, press secretary to the Russian Intelligence Service director, told a KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent that Primakov had a productive exchange of views on ways of stabilizing the situation in Europe. According to the Russian and Hungarian sides, the key to solving the problem is a Yugoslav settlement. Samolis said: "Our view of the problem is that it is necessary to avoid military action, which can only be counterproductive for all sides involved in the conflict, regardless of their likes or dislikes for one Yugoslav community or another."

Primakov's Budapest visit, observers note, is one of the first attempts by the Russian Intelligence Service to revive its relations with the special services of East Europe, which were wound down after the collapse of the USSR and the socialist camp. According to Samolis, relations with the Hungarian intelligence service were dissolved on Budapest's initiative in 1989. The hiatus really seems to be coming to an end, but this does not mean that relations between the two special services will revert to what they once were. Future cooperation will no longer be built on ideological foundations, but on the principles of the shared interests of both states.

Paper Interviews UK Foreign Secretary Hurd

PM2302163993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 93 pp 1, 7

[Interview with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd by IZVESTIYA Chief Editor Igor Golembiovskiy in London; date not given: "Douglas Hurd: Cooperation With Russia Is Important if the International Community Intends To Make Progress"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The British foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, is 63 and a member of the traditional British political elite. He went to the prestigious school of Eton and graduated from Cambridge University with a first in history. His diplomatic career began in 1952. He worked at the British Embassy in Beijing and then spent four years as a member of the UK mission to the United Nations in New York. From 1960 through 1963 he was personal secretary to the permanent undersecretary of state at the Foreign Office and spent three years at the British Embassy in Rome. He then worked in the Conservative Party's Research Department, specializing in foreign affairs.

Hurd has been an MP since 1974 and has been minister of state at the Foreign Office, secretary of state for Northern Ireland, home secretary; finally, in October 1989, he took charge of the Foreign Office.

The leader of the British diplomatic service has a wide range of interests. He is a recognized writer, with several novels to his credit.

[Golembiovskiy] During President Yeltsin's official visit to the United Kingdom Prime Minister Major and you, Mr. Foreign Secretary, received an invitation to visit Russia at some time convenient to you. The dates have not yet, as far as I know, been decided. Nevertheless, I would like to ask you this question: What, in your opinion, are the most substantive problems to be discussed during the next British-Russian talks.

[Hurd] We both accepted the invitation with great pleasure. The British and Russian sides keep in contact, coordinating possible dates for the visit. We have ample topics for discussion. Both the economic and political reforms in Russia are of great interest to the United Kingdom. Of course, the ball here is in the Russians' court, but we are ready to do all within our power to help. There is a host of issues. Take, for example, the problems relating to former Yugoslavia. That is just one example of how important cooperation with Russia is if the international community intends to make progress.

[Golembiovskiy] How might you, Mr. Hurd, assess the relations between our two countries in the most general terms?

[Hurd] I think that they are developing very well. President Yeltsin's visit, which gave a fresh boost to our relations, was in the highest measure successful. I am thinking here of the documents signed in London. I am also thinking about the deep impression produced by his political mastery, demonstrated both in his private conversations and in the speech he delivered to the British Parliament.

[Golembiovskiy] The next question continues a topic we have already broached. You get the impression now, particularly since December, that the pace of the West's business relations with Russia, including Britain's, has slowed down somewhat. The West has adopted a wait-and-see approach, as it were—everyone is watching the development of political events in Russia. Could you comment on this, Mr. Hurd?

[Hurd] The pace of economic cooperation depends on the individual decisions made by many hundreds of British and other Western companies. Understandably, when they make a decision about investments in Russia and determine the nature of them, they have to take account of the state of reforms and the extent to which administrative and economic structures in Russia enable effective partnership. But they determine their moves themselves. As far as the British Government is concerned, we have our own Know-How Fund, which envisages the implementation of various projects. That process is unbroken.

[Golembiovskiy] There is another topic which attracts special attention in our country. London has played a major role in Russia's rapprochement with the G-7 countries, and that is extremely important for our country. Recently a new idea arose in the EC, the idea of holding an extraordinary G-7 summit in April, without waiting for the planned meeting in Tokyo. How do you regard this proposal and what place do you see Russia having in such top-level consultations?

[Hurd] I think that there is a need for a meeting. And what in reality is to take place is that on 27 February the G-7 finance ministers will assemble in London. This question was decided literally the other day. So such a meeting will be taking place. How Russia could take part in the Tokyo meeting, if that is what eventuates—this is all still under discussion—is a separate issue. The hosts of the meeting are, as you know, the Japanese. However, expressing the British viewpoint, I would say that in one way or another (I am not sure of the form yet) it is important that Russia's views on problems of global significance be fully laid out and understood by us.

[Golembiovskiy] Many political scientists in the West and some observers in Russia consider that a process of switching attention away from the West's relations with Russia to its relations with China has started up. They, naturally, note that power's great potential while also thinking that its future is not very clear, as China is not abandoning communist ideology. Do they have grounds for such assumptions.

[Hurd] In my opinion, they don't. Both China and Russia are countries of the most enormous political significance and economic potential. They have chosen a different political and economic route. We have an interest in both of them. Russia is a European power. It has joined us in discussion of a whole series of problems. And as regards former Yugoslavia, it has shown itself far more active than China.

[Golembiovskiy] The development of events in the EC are followed with great interest in Russia, as the problem of integration, historically speaking, also confronts the countries of the former USSR. Russia, as a European state, hopes with time to become a member of the EC. At the same time we appreciate the difficulties that have emerged in the Community at this stage: On the one hand, the desire for integration, on the other, the fear of potential limitation of national sovereignties. How, in your opinion, can these two trends be reconciled?

[Hurd] You have articulated the issue with great perspicacity. Economic integration has several foundations. The first is the common market, the creation of which has already been completed. Second, we act in international negotiations as a single entity. The European Commission, for example, in connection with GATT problems conducts negotiations with the United States in the same way as it does, say, with Russia, Japan, and so forth. Third, we have reached agreement on starting discussion of the question of expanding the EC through those countries which wish to join—namely, Sweden, Austria, Finland, and Norway. These form the three pillars for our Community's activity in the nineties. But the Community itself should not become a single political superpower. The analogy with the United States of America is inappropriate here. We will not become a United States of Europe, because this is a community of old nation states, each of which has its own language, legislative system, and constitutional procedures. The European peoples have shown in the last two years that they have no intention of losing their national characteristics and merging into some kind of single European identity.

We are seeking to create something new. A community of nation states which operate effectively together whenever they need to act jointly as Europeans is in formation. That is not easy, but that is what we are engaged in. And there is another factor. We British want the EC to start looking eastward. During the UK presidency's of the EC we came out with the initiative that an agreement on association status be concluded with Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia and that it be extended to Bulgaria. We are also seeking to extend the hand of cooperation still further eastward—to Russia and the other states which were previously part of the USSR—starting with cooperation agreements, even thought the final form has not yet been determined. It can be said that we want to see Europe gradually expanding its links in the eastern sector.

[Golembiovskiy] I understand from what you have said that Europe is not threatened by the emergence of a new historical identity such as "the European." You will certainly know that the concept "the Soviet people constitute a new identity" was once legitimized in the former USSR.

[Hurd] We are a Community. There are no precedents in world history here. There has been no other instance of different countries uniting voluntarily rather than under pressure from an authoritarian system. They have united, pooling part of their sovereignty for the sake of common goals, while not, however, forsaking their most important national characteristics. We have had no ready-made prescription available to us, that is why disputes and disagreement sometimes arise. It may not not be easy-going, but it is the route forward for us.

[Golembiovskiy] And, finally, we have the bad tradition in Russia of knowing little about leading foreign statesmen. We usually have some idea of the role they play, but have a poor idea of them as real people. I know that you, Mr. Hurd, are a successful writer. I would like to ask you whether you remain a writer today. May we look forward to another book from you soon?

[Hurd] You will have to wait a little while. I only have time to work on a story at odd moments now. Perhaps I'll have more opportunity to create something of greater moment sometime in the future.

[Golembiovskiy] Thank you for the interview, Mr. Foreign Secretary. However, I would like to wish that that day comes for you as late as possible.

Rutskoy Briefs Britain's Lord Healey on Reforms

LD2302155493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1435 GMT 23 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy today told visiting Lord Denis Healey that he was confident that "difficulties in Russia would not last long and we shall enter the home stretch with positive results".

Rutskoy told the British visitor about reforms under way in Russia and stressed the need to rely on Russia's own strength and potential because "the country has unique natural, material and intellectual resources".

The complexity of transformations in Russia, according to Rutskoy, stems from the fact that political, economic and democratic reforms are proceeding simultaneously. Rutskoy said that the situation in the country can be stabilized if clear-cut planning, management and regulation are secured.

"I do not favour a revolution. I am for evolution in political, economic and democratic reforms", the vice-president said. He added that "the Russian people are poor not because they do not have something but because they cannot manage properly what they have".

Rutskoy spoke against the blanket application in Russia of any economic model developed in another country, because every country, including Russia, has specific features inherent in it alone. Along with this, Rutskoy did not rule out the use of other countries' experience in Russian economic reforms.

"I always admired the Russian people, their culture and amazing talents," Lord Healey said. The British people do not only sympathize with Russia but are deeply interested in the success of transformations in the Russian Federation, the British politician said.

Lord Healey rejected the idea of copying a foreign economic model in Russia but added that the use of experience accumulated by Japan, Korea and China could prove beneficial for economic reforms in Russia.

Vice Premier Appointed Head of G-7 Working Group

OW2202170393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Vice Premier Boris Fedorov has been named the leader of a working group assigned to make preparations for the meeting in Tokyo of the heads of the seven leading industrialized nations. Members of Fedorov's apparatus told Interfax that Russian President Boris Yeltsin made the appointment a few days ago.

The issue of economic aid to Russia is expected to be among the topics of discussion at the G-7 meeting.

The working group, which is now being formed, should include representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs, economics, finance, and foreign economic relations, as well as the Russian Agency of International Collaboration and Development, and the presidential

administration. The group has been instructed to prepare materials for the meeting, including specific information on the foreign aid Russia needs. Interfax was told that the group's make-up has not yet been confirmed.

Talks With Georgia on Abkhazia Postponed Indefinitely

LD2302163893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] According to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, the Russo- Georgian consultations on settling the conflict in Abkhazia, which were due to be held today, are being postponed indefinitely. The agency received information on this in the Russian Foreign Ministry. The consultations did not take place because the Georgian delegation had not arrived in Moscow.

Foreign Ministry Official Reacts to Estonian Statements

OW2302153693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1503 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Such statements, as Estonia's foreign minister made, cannot remain unanswered, particularly in the part which concerns territorial claims. They will undoubtedly entail an appropriate reaction from Moscow. This is how a highranking member of Russia's Foreign Ministry responsible for relations with the Baltic states commented on Velliste's statements.

According to him, statements by the head of Estonian diplomacy "cannot fail to influence the process of talks between Russia and Estonia and the general atmosphere of bilateral relations". As for the charges that Russia has territorial claims to Estonia, "they are absurd and pose a naked attempt to lay one's own fault at somebody else's door," he stressed.

As for the situation of Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia, "the Russian Foreign Ministry is willing to discuss such issues, but only when they involve concretely formulated real problems, not unsubstantiated charges," the diplomat said.

In connection with the issue of human rights observance, he said, a group of Foreign Ministry officials led by Senior Counsellor Valentin Nikiforov visited Pechera District in Pskov Region, where ethnic Estonians live. The report compiled by the diplomats says they discovered no facts which would indicate that the rights of ethnic Estonians in that area of Russia are infringed upon.

Shipping Agreement With Lithuania Approved

PM2302164593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Feb 93 First Edition p 7

[Unattributed report under "Official" rubric and general heading: "Agreements, Directives"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Government has decreed that the draft agreement with the Government of the Lithuanian Republic on merchant shipping be approved.

In accordance with this, the two states will promote the development of bilateral merchant shipping and cooperation between their freight and shipping enterprises and those connected with shipping, guided here by the principles of equal rights and mutual advantage.

Russia Tightens Economic Policy Toward CIS

MK1902115093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 19 Feb 93 p 9

[Artur Vardanyan article: "Government Presidium Session: Changes in Store for the Ruble Zone"]

[Text] Russia is not satisfied with its current trade and economic links with the CIS states, and the ruble area could shrink to the borders of Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. These conclusions follow from a report by Vladimir Mashchits, chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation, made at the 18 February session of the Russian Council of Ministers presidium.

According to Vladimir Mashchits, the whole of 1992 was marked by a banking and customs war among the former Union republics, with Russia losing the price war. Experts at the State Committee for Cooperation believe that as a result of the price battles, Russian enterprises have lost nearly 2 trillion rubles [R]. Observers point out that Mashchits' estimates tally well with the figures cited by Viktor Chernomyrdin in Tomsk. Chernomyrdin said that Russian enterprises were owed R1.2 trillion by their partners in the CIS states, while their debt stood at R550 billion. Furthermore, according to the State Committee for Cooperation, in 1992 Russia's technical credits to the CIS states, which give Russia a positive balance in its current financial settlements with these countries, were not less than R1 trillion. Mashchits believes that the main reason for this drain of Russian resources has been that the prices of goods imported by Russia from the CIS constitute on average 70 percent of world prices, whereas the prices of Russian exports to the Commonwealth states are no more than 60 percent of the world price level.

As for the credit and finance side, the chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation said that only Belarus and Kazakhstan had agreed in principle actually to coordinate their policies in this sphere with Russia. Therefore, he thinks that the ruble can no longer remain a common currency for the CIS states. In fact, Mashchits suggested that Russia would now be prodding the CIS

countries to introduce their own currencies. This situation means not only the formation of a new segment in the currency market, but also that it will be coming under the increased influence of primarily the Russian Central Bank.

Summing up the results of the session, Chernomyrdin said that Russia should abandon its "big brother" role within the CIS. Among the most pressing issues, he singled out the CIS states' repayment of their debt to Russia. This problem could be resolved by agreeing on the types of goods to be supplied in exchange and their delivery dates, advancing new credits, and by Russia's acquiring property rights in the debtor countries. The latter option, however, which opens up new opportunities for Russian entrepreneurs, is so far problematic: Aside from political resistance, the majority of CIS states are lagging behind Russia in the scale and pace of corporatization.

There is no way the Commonwealth countries can hope for completely balanced trade relations with Russia in 1993. This was the message from Foreign Economic Relations Minister Sergey Glazyev at the session. Moreover, Mashchits is planning in 1993 to maintain Russian technical credits at last year's level. In this situation, the settlement of debt problems takes on fundamental importance. KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts believe that in order to make progress along these lines it is essential to take into account not only Russia's natural state interests (acquisition of oil and gas pipelines, etc.)—which, however, are unlikely to be ensured—but also the interests of Russian entrepreneurs.

In addition to Russia's credit and financial relations with the CIS countries, the presidium examined and approved regulations on six government agencies.

[Article contains following text in three boxes:]

Box 1. Chernomyrdin on ways of developing Russia's economic links with the CIS countries:

—the CIS states should stop looking on Russia as a "big brother" who—very often to its own detriment—"understands their situation" and renders them assistance;

—the government should not interfere in agreements signed between individual enterprises unless these agreements damage Russia's economic interests;

—a single ruble area today can be established only on the territory of Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan.

Box 2. The Presidium of the Russian Council of Ministers has approved the following documents:
—regulations on the Economy Ministry;
—regulations on the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations:
—regulations on the Ministry of Social Protection;
—regulations on the Russian Federal Service to Oversee Insurance Activity;
—regulations on the Federal Migration Service;
—draft Council of Ministers decree "On the Federal Employment Service."

Box 3. Economic performance of CIS countries in 1992:

Decline in Gross National Income (in percentages):
—Belarus: 11
—Uzbekistan: 13
—Kazakhstan: 14
—Turkmenistan: 15
—Ukraine: 15
—Russia: 20
—Moldova: 21
—Kyrgyzstan: 26
—Azerbaijan: 28
—Tajikistan: 31
—Armenia: 43

Retail price growth (number-fold increase since December 1991):
—Azerbaijan: 22.8
—Ukraine: 21.8
—Belarus: 20.5
—Kyrgyzstan: 17.6
—Russia: 17.5
—Kazakhstan: 15.4
—Moldova: 14.6
—Tajikistan: 14.5
—Armenia: 13.3
—Turkmenistan: 9.8
—Uzbekistan: 8.4

Missile Designers Explain Attempt To Work in DPRK

LD2402123293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1207 GMT 24 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Evgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Miass February 24 TASS—Miserable wages forced best missile constructors from the machine-designing bureau in Miass, Chelyabinsk region in the Urals, to agree to work in North Korea, the administration of the Unique Defence Enterprise told TASS commenting on the foiled trip of a 60-men strong group of Russian scientists who were hired to develop modern strategic armaments in North Korea.

The group, which included one doctor and six masters of sciences, was detained at the Moscow international Sheremetyevo-2 airport at the end of last year while heading for Pyongyang.

Yuriy Bessarabov, a leading expert of the enterprise, told TASS that Pyongyang did not offer to pay much for his job—1,200 U.S. dollars a month, which is nothing compared to Western standards.

But in Russia he monthly earned only 3,000 roubles in 1992, which is less than six U.S. dollars according to the current official exchange rate.

Bessarabov, who has three children, said a cleaner at a nearby car works earns twice as much. Besides, there was nothing to do at the defence enterprise which lost most of the state orders.

"We did not plan to leave the Motherland for good, we wanted to make money and come back", he said.

The scientists, who have now returned to their bureau, told TASS they had not intended to create modern strategic armaments in North Korea and were to train local personnel for designing such armaments.

Official Denies Supplying Nuclear Technology to ROK

PM2302161193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 93 pp 1,3

[Aleksandr Sychev report: "South Korean Companies Pleased With Russian Scientists' Work"]

[Text] South Korea is delighted with the work done by Russian scientists in the design laboratories of a number of local companies, ASSOCIATED PRESS reports.

"The Russians are playing a key role in our work," Pak De-suk, chief designer of the Samsung Corporation's Institute of Advanced Technologies, declared to the agency's correspondent in Seoul. The Samsung group is known as a world leader in the sphere of semiconductors and electronics and is competing successfully with leading Japanese companies.

Last year the corporation invited two Russian specialists, and this year it intends to hire two more. With their help the Samsung Institute has developed a unique technology of new-generation videodisk players with laser read-write heads. In the opinion of the institute's leadership, this technology is about a year ahead of what Japanese designers have managed to achieve.

According to information from the Ministry of Science and Technology, about 400 Russian scientists and engineers have been working during 1991 and 1992 in the scientific research centers and design bureaus of various South Korean companies involved in the manufacture of mass consumer goods. Of these, 91 people concluded long-term contracts and got involved in 20 projects. Moreover, according to ministry spokesman Li Din-ke [name as transliterated], invitations have been sent to another 150 specialists.

"The Russians have proved that they can be useful to South Korea, which is striving to establish technologies of its own, technologies that Japan and other developed states are not disposed to give Seoul," he stated.

The ministry spokesman was unclear whether this was a matter of U.S. and Japanese companies not wishing to share advanced "know-how" with dangerous competitors who are prospering in the foreign trade sphere, or whether this reserve is dictated by other considerations. This is by no means an idle question, as it may seem at first glance.

The fact is that in talking about the development of cooperation with Russia, Li Din-ke stated, again without going into detail, Moscow is allegedly prepared to sell Seoul weapons, space technology, and—most important of all —nuclear technology. In principle there should be no objections to the first two categories of trade exchange—provided, of course, stability in the region is not upset and Russia complies with the treaty on the nonproliferation of rocket technology. But what kind of nuclear technology is under discussion here?

Sergey Yermakov, director of the Press Center of the Russian Federation Ministry of Atomic Energy, told IZVESTIYA that he has heard nothing about Russia being prepared to trade nuclear technology, but he is sure that this cannot be the case. During a recent meeting with South Korean official representatives within the framework of a preliminary sounding of interests, the discussion revolved solely around the possibility of reprocessing fissionable materials at Russian enterprises.

However, the South Koreans were told that cooperation in this sphere will be possible if laws are adopted in Russia allowing the import of nuclear waste from abroad, and also with the agreement of the authorities in places where nuclear enterprises are located. "But we will not be selling any nuclear technology," S. Yermakov said.

So in Seoul they evidently engaged in wishful thinking.

Paper Claims West Breaking Sanctions Against Iraq, Libya

MK2302114093 Moscow DEN in Russian No. 7 21-27 Feb 93 p 1

[A. Smirnov report: "How Much Was Kozyrev Paid by General Motors?"]

[Text] The Unites States, while placing various kinds of obstacles in the way of contacts between Baghdad and the industrially developed countries, including Russia, has been exploiting the sanctions period to establish ties with Iraqi business and financial circles. The U.S. General Electric Company has signed a contract via Brinco, a South Korean firm, to supply Iraq with sophisticated radars for locating low-flying targets; Bell Helicopter of Textron Inc. and McDonnell Douglas have supplied Iraq with a consignment of helicopter spare parts disguised as officially approved exports to Brazil and Paraguay. There have been attempts to sell American helicopters via Yemen. General Motors signed an agreement to supply industrial equipment for building an automobile plant and has delivered 350 Oldsmobile vehicles to Iraq via third countries.

According to experts, the U.S. Department of Commerce does have information about these and other similar transactions between U.S. companies and Iraq, but so far no action has been taken.

The United States is no less active in Libya, either. In December 1992 alone, the United States and Libya signed contracts amounting to around $3 billion.

As if competing with the Americans to break the UN sanctions, by the end of 1992, a number of Western and Eastern European firms had signed over 100 military contracts with countries subject to sanctions. The French GII, the Italian Sada, and the German Deutsch Service have been particularly active. A subsidiary of the German Konex company signed a $26.76 million contract with the Libyan Alfa-Falcon International to supply spare parts for radars.

Thus, despite the tight economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations, and despite the numerous UN Security Council resolutions, the United States and other West European countries have been using the sanctions—which, according to Kozyrev, are strictly observed by Russia—to drive our country out of those markets and conquer them with the tacit approval of their governments.

The question now is, how much was Kozyrev paid?

Yeltsin Aide Discusses Arms Sales to Arabs

PM2402120993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 93 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Maley, adviser to the Russian president, by Vyacheslav Shchepotkin; place and date not given: "Russian Military-Industrial Complex Is Winning Place on Arab Bridgehead; Russian President's Adviser Mikhail Maley on Results of World Arms Fair"]

[Text] [Maley] I am afraid of anticipating possible deals but I shall venture to predict, as an expert, that the results of this arms fair could be expressed for us in a figure of $2-3 billion. That is on new markets, with new customers. There were not only representatives of the Arab world there. Defense ministers and deputy chiefs of staff from dozens of states gathered in Abu-Dhabi. The shaykhs are building a beautiful country in the place where the desert was and they do not want any passer-by to lay hands on it. The United Arab Emirates alone intends to invest $70 billion in defense by the year 2000. So they want to have systems ensuring that security is guaranteed. In particular they paid the closest attention to our antimissile complexes, which are several times more effective than the American ones.

Those are my first observations and impressions of six days in an Arab country—that is how long the fair in Abu-Dhabi lasted. But I must immediately mention something else. When I returned home I read an article by a journalist in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, not a current article but not that old either. In the article he writes that our crisis will not end until the military-industrial complex has been destroyed. Well, such a man can be forgiven since he is contracted to write an article and he does not know what's what. But when economists, analysts, and political scientists called for the total destruction of the military-industrial complex—did they really have no idea what they were trying to destroy? The fair in Abu-Dhabi gave not a hint but a direct signal of the potential for the Russian military-industrial complex not only to earn money for itself and for conversion but also to feed a considerable part of the country. The complex which was used to frighten children can bring the treasury hard currency in cash not by selling crude oil and thus depriving our heirs of it but by selling the creations of our intelligence, hands, and skill, taking money not from our own budget but from the budgets of other countries. Again I am afraid of anticipating the consequences, but for us $2-3 billion is a very large sum.

[Shchepotkin] Slightly less than last year's profit from arms sales...

[Maley] More. We were able to sell military output worth only $1.9 billion in 1992.

[Shchepotkin] Really! But you told me at the end of last year that a sum of $4 billion was expected!

[Maley] That was how the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations worked under the leadership of Petr Aven and his deputy, Mr. Shibayev. And at that time the depots and plant yards were stuffed with output for which many foreign customers were prepared to pay well. And that is not the only element in our marketing which makes us think. The start of the implementation of a trade deal between France and the Emirates coincided with the opening of the fair. The Arabs bought 430 tanks from the French. But it turns out that two years ago the shaykhs asked us to sell them tanks. But, as it has now started to emerge, someone, no one knows who, banned even talks on the sale of tanks. The shaykhs turned to France, and the deal brought it over $3 billion.

[Shchepotkin] Instead of bringing that money to Russia. Are their tanks much better?

[Maley] I shall tell you that under field conditions our tanks have given a very good account of themselves. The Americans were unlucky with their Abrams. It climbed a hillock, fell back, almost overturned, and its caterpillar tracks began to tear away its casing... In the evening our tank drivers went to the Americans and expressed their sympathy, saying that the tank was still a good one, it had been a little unlucky, it was 20 tonnes heavier than it needed to be, but it was a good vehicle... There was a permanent competition. And what do you expect, if recently we have reduced our share in arms sales on the world market from 38 to 17 percent and the United States has almost doubled its arms sales. Last year they sold weapons worth 14.5 billion rubles [as published] to the Arab countries alone. Compare that with the less than $2 billion which were received in profit for the entire year. So, as soon as an opportunity appeared for encroaching on a competitor, Russia included, they did not let slip that opportunity. Here is a living example. There was a report on the BBC that President B. Yeltsin had left for an unknown destination. And immediately there were commentaries in

the press. The talk was all in the same key: How can we talk about spare parts with Russia when we do not know whether the contracts will be fulfilled at all? And the next day they showed B. Yeltsin and R. Khasbulatov sitting next to each other. And what do you think, the talk ceased immediately but another turn appeared: There is powersharing in Russia, there is no stability there, you cannot pin great hopes on the Russians as suppliers. So I should like to note one more impression from the fair, which directly tallies with the mood which I could sense when I returned from the Emirates. Millions of workers in the military-industrial complex, as far as I can understand, are interested least of all in the struggle between the powers. They are perturbed by their own fate and Russia's fate. If Russia is stable, our military-industrial complex will be able to earn money both for its own transformation and for the transformation of Russia.

Official Feels Sale of MIG-29s to Malaysia, India Probable

OW2302135193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1323 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Foreign Economic Relations Ministry (FERM) opposes incompetent involvement in the sphere of Russian arms exports. It also pointed out that the attempts by Russian foreign trade organizations to enter the foreign market with widescale projects envisaging arms sales "is deliberately being blocked by western countries."

On Tuesday [23 February] the FERM press service handed over a message to Interfax which is attributed to a recent publication of an article "Renewed MIG" by the newspaper "DAY."

This article, in particular, asserted that the leadership of the Ministry and of the foreign trade association Oboronexpport prevented the Luchovitsiy aviation factory from independently selling a large quantity of MIG-29 fighters abroad, including to Malaysia.

The FERM press service declared that the aircraft, which are at the factory in Luchovitsiy now, had not been delivered abroad due to several objective reasons (these countries' refusal to buy, political solutions of the Russian government). Nevertheless, the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry continues its work in order to sell the fighters. These aircraft were proposed to several countries but "their delivery to Malaysia and India seems to be the most realistic." The Ministry explains the prolonged development of the "Malaysian" contract by additional requirements put forward by Malaysia with respect to aircraft and delivery provisions.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Recalls Draft Privatization Law From Parliament

LD2402105493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0739 GMT 24 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Feb—President Boris Yeltsin has recalled from the Russian Supreme Soviet a draft state program for privatization of state and municipal enterprises for 1993 and a draft law on privatization vouchers. In a letter addressed to Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, he explained his decision by the fact that the wish has been expressed by a number of people's deputies, Supreme Soviet committees, and by the Russian Federation soviets that the draft state program for privatization for 1993 should be worked on to boost the rights of the regions, taking the Federation Treaty into account.

Yeltsin recalled that the Committee of the Supreme Soviet for issues of inter-republican relations, regional policy, and cooperation and the people's deputies had addressed a proposal to him that the state program for privatization of state and municipal enterprises for 1993 should be submitted for more finalizing. "I think that this proposal deserves attention," it states in the president's letter to the parliament speaker.

Yeltsin Edict Redefines Regional Representatives' Status

PM2302112593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Feb 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under "News Item" rubric]

[Text] By edict of the Russian Federation president the institution of his representatives in krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts and krays, and also in the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, is to be reorganized. The newly ratified Statute on the Status of the President's Representatives establishes that they are officials of the Russian Federation President's Administration and are appointed to this position (after undergoing the appropriate vetting) on the representations of the head of that administration. It is also estabilished that the president's representatives cannot be members of political parties or mass sociopolitical movements, cannot occupy any post in state organs or organs of local self-government, and do not have the right to engage in entrepreneurial activity.

Spokesman: Rumors on Yeltsin's Health 'Absolutely False'

PM2402091593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 93 p 1

[Igor Lenskiy report: "Fit as a Fiddle"]

[Text] Commenting in a conversation with PRAVDA's correspondent on the rumors circulating about B. Yeltsin's alarming state of health, Anatoliy Krasikov, leader of the Russian Federation president's press service, called them absolutely false. Nevertheless, the president has been told by specialists not to do any serious work during his 12-day vacation. However, going against the physicians' advice, Boris Nikolayevich yesterday finished work on a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA interview and greeted servicemen.

According to Krasikov's report, Yeltsin took R. Khasbulatov's Novosibirsk speech without visible emotion and is unlikely to react. But his working group is working assiduously.

The first official event on Yeltsin's return from vacation will be a meeting with the Finnish president.

Opposition Calls For Civil Disobedience Campaign

OW2302195493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1936 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] People's Deputy Ilya Konstantinov, one of the National Salvation Front leaders, called for starting a campaign of civil disobedience against the Russian authorities and for a "national salvation" government which would "bring order to the country."

"The time in office of the Kremlin parvenus is running out. The people's patience is exhausted. The time for words is over, the time for action has come," Konstantinov told a rally of opposition supporters at Manezh Square on Tuesday. One of the priorities of the new cabinet, he said, will be bringing criminal charges against "bribe takers and thiefs."

Mikhail Astafyev a member of the Russian Unity parliamentary bloc, said that there is no place for a constitutional accord in the Russian law. This idea, he said, is the result of "a deal a few top officials struck behind the people's backs." Astafyev thinks that now the people have a right to defend their constitutional rights "arms in hand." He suggested a catchword "Throw Luzhkov out of Moscow and Yeltsin out of the Kremlin!"

The Russian Army, in the words of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the Liberal Democratic Party leader, "must liberate its own people." He is convinced that the peoples of the Baltic and Transcaucasian regions are awaiting its mission of liberation. He insisted that Russia is respected only for its armed forces and nuclear arsenal which "are feared by everyone in the world."

One of the NSF [National Salvation Front] leaders, People's Deputy Sergey Baburin, said: "The Kremlin walls do not but those behind them do tremble when we shout 'Hurrah'." He thinks that this day, February 23, must force "Mr. Yeltsin" to make a choice between coming to his senses or waiting for the people to make their own conclusions.

Another NSF leader, former USSR MP Sazhiy Umalatova, called on the rally to express nonconfidence in President Yeltsin.

The rally endorsed a resolution adopted by the All-Russian Assembly of Armed Forces Officers that calls for removing Pavel Grachev from the position of Defense Minister and trying him "for high treason, corruption, and sabotage." A decision was made to back the officers' request submitted to the Supreme Soviet that Vladislav Achalov, former commander of the USSR paratroopers, be appointed instead.

Participants in the assembly formed the Committee of National Salvation (CNS). The CNS is intended to operate as a sort of alternative, "shadow" government for the country. Among the assembly's organizers were the National Salvation Front, the All- Russian Officers Assembly, and the Labor Moscow movement.

Former Soviet Army Colonel-General Albert Makashov, who was famous in his time for openly criticizing Gorbachev's perestroyka, will chair the CNS. The following CNS coordinators were selected: former commander of USSR landing troops General Vladislav Achalov will handle defense issues, former public prosecutor Viktor Ilyukhin (who, after the putsch in August, 1991, brought charges against Gorbachev for treason - IF [INTERFAX]) will cover judicial and legal issues, Chairman of the Kemerovsk Region Council of People's Deputies Aman Tuleyev will head up economic affairs, and member of the Russian Supreme Soviet Mikhail Astafyev will cover foreign affairs.

Other members named to the CNS were Russian People's Deputies Sergey Baburin, Vladimir Isakov, Ilya Konstantinov, Gennadiy Sayenko, and Nikolay Pavlov. All are members of the oppositional parliamentary bloc Russian Unity.

At the assembly they adopted a resolution calling for the formation of branches of national militia "to defend the rightful powers and prevent an anti-national putsch aimed at establishing a dictatorial regime." The resolution warns Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, and "anyone prepared to give criminal orders on the persecution of patriots" against the impermissibility of such steps.

Authorities say the assembly passed, in general, without excesses. The Moscow City Internal Affairs Department reported that 20,000 to 40,000 people participated in the assembly. (Speakers at the assembly claimed that 500,000 had gathered.) About 1000 internal affairs employees were on hand to keep order, the Moscow Internal Affairs Department told INTERFAX.

10,000 Pro-Communist Demonstrators March in Manezh Square

LD2302160493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1515 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Various marches pegged to the Day of Defenders of the Fatherland are being held in Moscow today. Valeriy Samfirov is our correspondent on duty in the streets of Moscow today. He is on the line. Valeriy, where are you now?

[Samfirov] I am in Manezh Square and earlier I visited the Belorusskiy Railway Station. Several thousand people had gathered there. There were not only representatives of the Russian Workers' Party but also officers, both retired and serving, there. And I would like to stress especially that, for some reasons, Communists conducted vigorous propaganda calling for a boycott of the April referendum. But everybody knows that for parties of Communist orientation any rally is only a pretext for voicing their ideas. I spoke with several officers, and interviews with them will be broadcast at the end of this Panorama. Their demands boil down to the following: A trial of the participants in the Belovezhye agreement [setting up the CIS in December 1991] and of those who are responsible for the collapse of the army. Also, the officers complained about insufficient numerical strength of army personnel. That is why, according to them, there are many weapons in military units but few people to man them. I will recall that this was the opinion of participants in the rally at the Belorusskiy Railway Station.

Despite a ban, several thousand people, carrying wreaths, moved toward the tomb of the unknown soldier, and a rally is to take place in Manezh Square at 1830. Its participants have already assembled, there are about 10,000 people there. According to them, they are ready to confront the militia but to the militia's credit, they are not responding.

I will report in greater detail at the end of Panorama, and then you will hear the views of participants in the rally.

[Announcer] Valeriy, can we say that, in general, everything is going peacefully for the time being?

[Samfirov] Yes, for the time being everything is going peacefully. The only thing is that some participants in the event are in quite a determined mood.

Over 50,000 Demonstrators Reported

OW2302151493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1506 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At 5 p.m., a multi-thousand demonstration staged by various pro-communist and national-patriotic organizations on the occasion of the Day of the Defender of the Motherland [as received], celebrated on February 23 (instead of the former Soviet Army and Navy Day),

began its march toward the center of the Russian capital, blocking traffic on Tverskaya Street.

The march, with a column of the National Liberation Front supporters at its head, began at the Belarus Railway Station in defiance of the express ban by the Moscow City authorities, who were insisting that the route of the demonstration be shortened.

The column, whose participants are carrying streamers glorifying the Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force, are heading for Manezh Square and the Kremlin.

Moscow militia representatives told Interfax that over 50,000 people are demonstrating, according to preliminary estimates.

Marchers Attack Ex-Chief of Moscow Militia

OW2302172593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of National Salvation Front supporters on a march "to celebrate an anniversary of the Soviet Army" attacked Arkadiy Murashev, former chief of Moscow militia, outside the Revolution Museum. Shouting "Scoundrel", "Judas", and "Traitor" dozens of marchers started beating him but he managed to break away and escape.

Murashev is a founder of the interregional group of members of the Union parliament and an activist in the radical wing of the Democratic Russia movement.

The marchers whose number is estimated as over 100,000 carried flags of the former Soviet Union, portraits of Lenin and Stalin, and streamers "No to Yeltsin's dictatorship", "No surrender of the socialist Motherland", and "No to the robbery and misery of working people."

The manifestation is attended by leaders of the National Salvation Front, the Russian National Sobor, Working Moscow, former people's deputies of the USSR, and some people's deputies of Russia.

The militia did not harass the march.

When the marchers arrived at Manezh Square outside the Kremlin, speech making started.

'Radical Democrats' Support Yeltsin Power-Sharing Agreement

OW2302143493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The draft power sharing agreement offered by the Russian president is considered to be the only version capable of finding a way out of the political dead end by the "Radical Democrats" parliamentary fraction and the "Demokraticheskiy vybor" ("Democratic Choice") bloc. This was the appraisal of Sergey Yushenkov, the coordinator of "Radical Democrats," who was speaking at a press conference in Moscow Tuesday [23 February]. Yushenkov pointed out the particular importance attached by the president in his version to making the Central Bank and the property, pension and other funds accountable not only to parliament but also to executive power. Until this took place, he continued, the government could be in no state to put its fiscal stabilization program into action.

Yushenkov considered the likelihood of the power sharing agreement being approved by the Congress small and that it would be necessary to continue with preparations for the April referendum. The main issue at the referendum, in Yushenkov's opinion, was by whom the constitution itself should be adopted-the Congress or the Constitutional Assembly. The two bodies of democrats were in firm favor of the Constitutional Assembly.

Yakovlev Warns of 'Political Revanchism,' 'Civil War'

LD2302102793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0850 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Moscow, 23 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—"If the antistate and anticonstitutional activities by the revanchist forces that have raised their heads and are now pushing the people toward civil war are not curbed, a tragic turn of events cannot be ruled out," warns well-known political figure Aleksandr Yakovlev, a former member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU and an active participant in the events of August 1991, in an interview published today in the "TRUD" newspaper.

"The antidemocratic front is gathering strength and becoming increasingly impudent," he noted. "What is taking place now is an act of political revanchism. Having suffered a defeat in August 1991, reactionary forces have changed their tactics and are now launching an offensive in two directions. First, they want to turn soviets into a one-party structure again, thus restoring a monopoly on power. It is the same power of the party, only this time in the shape of soviets. The second direction is through officialdom," which is now "completely uncontrolled and omnipotent."

In Aleksandr Yakovlev's opinion, "quite a dangerous process" of consolidation of Communists, monarchists, national socialists, and other forces against democracy is now under way in Russia.

Russia's Communist Party has no chance of becoming the leading force in society, he believes. "The people will not follow them. I do not regard it as a serious bid for power, but it is a serious bid to destabilize society to clear the way for a civil war," Yakovlev pointed out.

He is convinced that "despite all the current difficulties, there is no real sociopolitical basis for a return to the

past. There have been mistakes in carrying out reform, but it is too early to speak of their failure."

Aleksandr Yakovlev sees "a certain danger" in a referendum on constitutional issues because there is still no clear view in society as to "which power is better, the presidential or the parliamentary one."

Rift Grows Between Legislature, Executive

MK2302134493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Feb 93 p 2

[Nika Stark article: "As the Powers That Be Prepare for Referendum, Constitutional Agreement Is Becoming Less Likely"]

[Text] The last three days have been punctuated by a growing confrontation between the legislative and executive branches of power in Russia. The president and the parliament speaker exchanged verbal accusations. The first joint session of the commission responsible for working out a constitutional agreement that was held on 20 February only aggravated the situation, exposing the diametrically opposing views of the presidential and parliamentary teams over ways of overcoming the power crisis.

Addressing an audience in Akademgorodok in Novosibirsk, Ruslan Khasbulatov, in what has now become almost a tradition, criticized Boris Yeltsin. In his speech to the scientific community he came out once more in favor of cutting back presidential powers, noting that he himself did not want "to play the role of Anatoliy Lukyanov, who kept giving more and more of his powers away to the president until the latter eventually collapsed under their weight, incapable of exercising even half of them." Commenting on the stance of the speaker, who seemed to be unimpressed by a sharp statement from the president's press secretary on 19 February, observers believe that his attacks on Boris Yeltsin stem from his support by the leaders of soviets that Khasbulatov felt at the Novosibirsk conference. Many of its participants put forward tougher demands regarding the executive than even the Supreme Soviet chairman himself. In his recent statements, observers note, Ruslan Khasbulatov has been seeking to separate Viktor Chernomyrdin from the president. Thus, at the Novosibirsk conference the parliament speaker said yet again that "economic relations regulated by presidential edicts would be better placed in the charge of the Council of Ministers." According to Khasbulatov, Chernomyrdin, in contrast to the president, "really does want to improve the economic situation." Mr. Chernomyrdin himself, however, has not gone on public record as reacting to the speaker's attempts to woo him over to his camp. Nor is he emphasizing his affiliation with the president's team.

The parliament speaker's absence from the White House in no way affected the mood of the Supreme Soviet. The 20 February conference of deputies at all levels, which was held at the initiative of the Russia parliamentary faction, was dominated by an anti-presidential mood. Moreover, attacks have begun on the Constitutional Court. Vladimir Isakov, a leader of the Russian Unity bloc, who took part in that conference, threatened to raise at the Congress the issue of reelecting the Constitutional Court if it became the guarantor of the agreement between the legislature and the executive.

Hopes for a peaceful, democratic settlement of the crisis in the upper echelons of power in Russia lessened even more following the session of the commission on the constitutional agreement. Parliamentary representatives who participated in it categorically rejected the suggestions from the presidential side.

Nonetheless, in an informal talk with journalists in the White House on 22 February, Sergey Shakhray, a member of the working group, said that the road toward reaching the agreement "must be traveled to the end," and that if it was not reached, it was necessary to "name those responsible for its failure." Sergey Shakhray concluded his talk with the newsmen on a very ambiguous note, saying: "Once the congress is convened..." Observers point out, however, that his intonation suggests that the earliest the president is likely to come out with a decisive statement would be at an extraordinary Congress session, which may be held in early March. For their part, the deputies will probably launch a new massive attack on the president at the 25 February session of the Supreme Soviet, when Ruslan Khasbulatov returns from Finland. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report on the course of the session on 26 February.

People's Tribunal Condemns Gorbachev to 'Eternal Damnation'

OW2302185793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1656 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After five days of work in Moscow the People's Tribunal, which was formed by the Popular Assembly to try the former Soviet president, sentenced Mikhail Gorbachev "to eternal damnation and shame."

The former president was pronounced guilty "of premeditated violation and non-fulfillment of the Soviet Constitution, of deliberate betrayal of the interests of the state and of breaking down the administration system." He was also pronounced guilty of "helping foreign powers ignite local and regional conflicts, capable of unleashing a third world war, and of destroying systems of the post-war arrangement of the world, and of violating the Yalta and Potsdam accords."

The tribunal urged the people of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus to begin "political, civil, and criminal prosecution of the Byelaya Vyezha traitors" (in December, 1991, the presidents of these three former Soviet republics met at Byelaya Vyezha to sign an accord to disband the USSR - IF [INTERFAX]). The tribunal's appeal to the people of the former USSR and citizens of other countries contains a demand to sever all ties with Gorbachev

and his foundation and strip him of all decorations, including the Nobel Peace Prize.

Rutskoy: Crime Perils State's 'Existence'

PM2202100193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Feb 93 p 1

[Interview with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy conducted by unidentified journalist under "Exclusive" rubric; place and date not given: "Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy Answers Our Newspaper's Questions"]

[Text] [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, in your report to the All-Russia Conference on Fighting Crime and Corruption you declared that the fight against crime is a nationwide task. What do you mean by that?

[Rutskoy] We have reached the point where the scale of crime threatens the life and activity of not just individual citizens, but the existence of the state as a whole. If we do not want our country turned into a state run by mafia structures, we really have to act.

And the task of fighting crime is by its nature nationwide, because you cannot confine yourself here to a region, a single sector of the national economy, or a single economic sphere. Crime has struck at the whole of society, and we have to get rid of it everywhere.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Are you convinced that, in today's political and sociopolitical situation, the fight against crime can become the kind of idea and area of action capable of uniting the people today?

[Rutskoy] I think that it is the Russian ideal, rather than any kind of individual actions, even very substantial ones, which is above all going to unite the nation. But at the same time I am deeply convinced that the nation could really close ranks in the fight against crime in order to defend itself and the interests of the state.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What should people do in this regard—set up self-defense detachments, form public militia units, arm themselves?

[Rutskoy] First, we must change the legislative basis as quickly as possible, rendering it appropriate to the new type of economic relations in society. Otherwise, there will be no progress made at all. Second, we need to build an effective system of control over imports and exports and banking transactions (naturally, based on the law) and increase drastically the degree of accountability of citizens and, in particular, officials for their actions. I do not think that crime can be defeated by general arming of the people. That is not the way. The main thing for us to do is prevent crimes and nip criminal tendencies in the bud.

Court Hearings on Moscow Status Deferred

LD2302130793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1242 GMT 23 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—The Constitutional Court hearings on the constitutionality of several normative acts, pertaining to the Russian capital, have been put off to Friday for procedural reasons.

The documents in question include the Russian president's decrees "on additional powers to Moscow administrative bodies for the period of the radical economic reform" and "on accelerated privatisation of municipal property in Moscow", the joint decision of the president and speaker of the Russian Parliament on the administrative- territorial division of Moscow, as well as Article 10 of the Russian law "on the territorial, regional council of people's deputies and the territorial, regional administration". A group of Russian parliamentarians have called in question the constitutionality of these documents and have addressed a corresponding appeal to the Constitutional Court. The dispute around these normative acts and several other decisions on Moscow and its administration reflects the contradiction between the federal and city authorities, as well as between the representative and executive branches of the city government.

Today's meeting began with a public consultation of judges, who decided to combine all these questions in one case, because they are "related to one and the same subject". One of the authors of the appeal, Sergey Baburin, who could not attend the meeting, addressed a request to the court not to discuss the presidential decree on privatisation in his absence. Taking this into account, as well as the absence of most of the experts due to various illnesses, the judges decided to postpone the hearings.

It was also proposed during the meeting to put off the hearings until the Supreme Soviet adopts a law on the status of the Russian capital. This request was addressed to the Constitutional Court by Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Nikolay Ryabov, who informed it that the parliament was working hard on this legislation and it would be discussed before March 15 with due account of the existing Constitution, the federal treaty and the views of all the sides involved. However, this motivation was dismissed. However, Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin reminded the MPs about the need to adopt a law on Moscow as quickly as possible, clearly defining the status of the capital and regulating relationships among its administrative bodies.

Poltoranin Comments on FIC's Role

PM2302112993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 93 p 2

[Sergey Chugayev report: "Federal Information Center Has Nothing To Do With Censorship"]

[Text] The present provision of information on state policy is at an extremely low level. The state m[illegible]ns a lot of the mass media but Russia's citizens have only a poor idea of the logic behind the work of the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the government. Thus the decision to create the Federal Information Center [FIC] to coordinate the supply of information on state policy came at least a year late. That was stated by M. Poltoranin, head of the FIC, at a meeting with leaders of factions in the Russian parliament 15 February.

The reason for the meeting, as you might guess, was the recently oft-repeated demand by a number of deputies that the legality of such a new structure as the FIC be investigated. In particular, there were suspicions expressed that the FIC was created especially as a "sinecure" for former government member M. Poltoranin, who as a result has retained control of the mass media and is beyond parliament's control.

However, according to M. Poltoranin, the idea of creating the FIC was discussed a year ago and received support from, among others, R. Khasbulatov. The formation of the FIC is one stage in the reform of the Russian Ministry of the Press and Information, which after the removal from it of the Press Support Fund and the creation of the FIC will unite with the Russian Intellectual Property Agency and will work exclusively on legal support for the activity of the mass media—registration, the issue of licenses, and monitoring observance of the Law on the Press.

M. Poltoranin rejected fears that the FIC could be transformed into a kind of censorship committee which will dictate to the mass media what to write about the activity of the authorities and how to write it. The center's main task, in his words, will be to facilitate journalists' access to information on the activity of all the power structures. With this aim in mind, for example, it is proposed to create a data bank which could be used to provide information quickly on the work of any ministry, council, and so forth. There are plans to form a similar data bank within the CIS framework.

At the same time the FIC director set out the idea of the need to create a public council to take charge of the mass media in the "elaboration of spiritual guidelines" for society. M. Poltoranin also firmly supported the long-standing idea of creating radio and TV watchdog councils. He stressed in particular the need to include representatives of the Orthodox Church in those councils in addition to prestigious cultural figures, doctors, and teachers.

One of the FIC's most important tasks is to take the "Ostankino" Television and Radio Company back under the state's wing. In M. Poltoranin's words, "Ostankino" today has been commercialized, is being torn into pieces, and is dominated by the mafia and corruption. The company is effectively unmanageable.

The idea of creating watchdog councils, like the desire to restore state control over "Ostankino," met with support from the leaders of the factions, as might have been expected. In principle they even accepted that the existence of the FIC was expedient. However, the demand to appoint its head at a session of parliament seems to have remained unchanged. In any event it was particularly emphasized by I. Rybkin, leader of the "Communists of Russia" faction. Furthermore, the meeting was purely informational in character and did not propose the adoption of any decisions.

Ex-KGB Chief Notes 'Dangerous Trends' in Security Ministry

AU2402103293 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20-21 Feb 93 p 2

[Manfred Quiring report: "The Old Corps Spirit Is Still Alive in Russia's Intelligence Service"]

[Text] Moscow—The Russian Security Ministry, the successor of the infamous Soviet State Security Committee (KGB), is preserving its old esprit de corps. On its orders, several speakers, including former KGB Chief Ivanenko, withdrew from the conference "The KGB Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," which opened in Moscow on Friday [19 February].

Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Human Rights Committee, noted that Russia has not been able to free itself from the doctrine of violence, which unavoidably leads to the establishment of the apparatuses of coercion. He noticed "dangerous trends" in the development of the Russian Security Ministry, which infringe citizens' democratic rights. He accused the Ministry of having spied on members of Parliament with intelligence service methods. In February 1991, the Supreme Soviet Presidium received a report on the behavior of parliamentarians, above all on their contacts with foreign experts and journalists. Until now he has not been able to get any information about who ordered the report, who compiled it, and what kind of methods were used.

According to Kovalev, the "intrusion of foreign intelligence services in Russia," about which high-ranking Security Ministry employees are currently complaining so much, mainly refers to such completely normal meetings. In this connection, he warned against a draft law, which has been presented to Parliament, which would empower the Ministry to monitor citizens comprehensively.

Ex-KGB General Kalugin asked the rhetoric question why the Russian Security Ministry needs 140,000

employees, while the Americans can make do with 25,000. He hardly sees any differences in the structure "compared with the times of Khryuchkov." Much rather, one can notice a trend toward revaluating the institution: The former KGB college in southwest Moscow has been turned into an academy, the former committee has been turned into a ministry.

In an interview with BERLINER ZEITUNG, Vadim Bakatin, who was temporarily in charge of reorganizing the intelligence service after the August putsch, warned against illusions. It is a mistake to believe that a system that was created over more than 70 years can be reformed overnight. "The KGB cannot be more democratic than society itself, and we are not even at the threshold of democracy."

He admitted that the mentality and ideology of "Chekism" still exist and will continue to exist, because "after all, we all come from this society." He never set himself the goal of changing this in two or three months. However, one should also not exaggerate the danger emanating from the KGB, Bakatin demanded. He thinks that the developing democracy, above all the intelligentsia, "must not be at war with the security organs. We already have so many frontlines, we must not establish another one."

Gerashchenko, Gaydar, Petrakov Join Credit Policy Panel

PM2402094793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Feb 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] By directive of the president of the Russian Federation, V.V. Gerashchenko, Ye.T. Gaydar, and N.Ya. Petrakov have been included in the Government Commission for Questions of Credit Policy.

Military Issues

'Full Text' of Yeltsin Remarks to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA

LD2202151693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1015 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Feb—The press service of the president of the Russian Federation has released the full text of the answers given by Boris Yeltsin to the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper, which will be published on 23 February:

1. Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich! The 23d of February is now Defenders of the Fatherland Day. The date has remained unchanged, but the holiday clearly has new significance. For military people, the question of continuity and the question of traditions have special significance. In connection with this, I would like to ask: On what basis—on what traditions—do you believe the Russian Army should be built? What are we keeping from the spiritual "baggage" of the former Soviet Army, and what are we renouncing?

Answer: I am convinced that there is a very firm basis for Defenders of the Fatherland Day, which we are celebrating today. Unquestionably, the Russian Army has something of which to be proud. We learn the traditions of our forefathers' exploits with our mother's milk. There is scarcely any other country in the world that has been subjected so often over the centuries to piratical raids or large-scale armed aggression.

The Motherland's valiant defenders were also the first to come to the defense of the homeland. Their heroic feats of arms have gone down for ever in the annals of the country's history and have made a deep imprint on our entire cultural and spiritual life. Such epoch- making events as the Battle of Kulikovo, Borodino, the Brusilov breakthrough, and the Battle of Stalingrad will remain forever in the memory of Russian citizens.

I would not reduce the Army's merits to military victories alone, however. Is it fair to forget what the Armed Forces have done in peace time? How many civilian facilities—roads, enterprises, and houses—have been built! How many people have been rescued at times of natural or social catastrophes! How many harvests have been saved by soldiers! Sometimes, however, we even forget to say thank you. We know that in this area we will never be refused.

The selflessness, honor, decency, self-discipline, and loyalty to professional duty—the lofty purpose of which is to serve people—this is the tradition of the Russian Army. Many servicemen remain true to it forever, under any power, under any system. I believe that the importance of these values will not fade in the future.

Of course, the Army's distant and recent past cannot be painted in one color. One would not wish to transfer everything from yesterday to today and tomorrow. To be honest, Army life was excessively ideologized for a long time and, at times, professionalism and a creative attitude toward work were valued less than blind obedience and loyalty to party dogmas. One also cannot forget the mass repressions. They were first against military specialists—as they were referred to—who were actively involved in the emergence of the Red Army, and then against prominent military commanders and the whole body of officers educated by Soviet power. We will remember this in order to prevent the same thing from being repeated.

To mention one other "tradition" that goes right back to pre- revolutionary times. I have in mind the deeply ingrained psychology of the army of serf recruits. It literally eats away at all the bottom levels of the army structure, breeding disrespect for the personality of the soldier and for his civil and human rights. Among the soldiers themselves, this psychology encourages bullying and other crimes. As a result, young lads, our children, quite often die in peacetime. We are also all interested in

the life of soldiers changing as quickly as possible and in their being determined only by civilized, professional, and legal norms.

2. All aspects of society's life are being subjected to deep reforms today. The Armed Forces are also being reformed. How do you, the supreme commander in chief, assess the course of the reforms in the Army? How do you see the prospects? There are many who speak of the need for the earliest elaboration of a military doctrine. How do you assess the situation in this sector? Can you outline, even if only in general terms, the final result at which we should arrive? How do you see the Russian Army in the 21st Century?

Answer. At the collegium of the Ministry of Defense three months ago, I already said that I was not satisfied with the course of the military reform. With all the objective difficulties, its implementation is being delayed impermissibly. I know that quite a few officers are expressing dissatisfaction over the unjustified braking of the reforms.

Russia's military doctrine is still at the stage of formation, at the stage of the accumulation of new ideas and principles, although the Security Council has been working for almost a year now. There is no need to explain that there are attempts to fill this vacuum with various surrogates, even if only partially.

There are some who wish to play the Army card. The new quality Army should also be in keeping with the new democratic Russia. We do not consider a single country or coalition of countries in the West or in the East to be our adversary. Our foreign policy principle is to create a belt of good-neighborly, friendly states. The new military doctrine and the new military ideology of Russia should proceed from these premises.

We reject wars, the use of force, or the threat of using force as a means to achieve political, economic, and other aims. Force is justified only in the event of aggression. In contemporary conditions, the danger of large-scale world wars being unleashed—both nuclear and conventional—has been reduced significantly. At the same time, the threat of local wars and armed conflicts of local significance remains, and this threat is even increasing. The Armed Forces of Russia should also be ready for this, first of all. I see them as compact, highly professional, fitted out with state-of-the- art equipment, mobile, capable of fulfilling combat tasks in various conditions, and ready to defend the Fatherland and to effectively guarantee the security of the state and defend its national interests. Of course, this will require both time and quite a lot of resources.

3. We frequently use the term "the social protection of servicemen." Maybe it is not protection that servicemen need, however, but a considered, purposeful social policy that would guarantee them a definite place within the system of social relations? Servicemen in developed market countries do not belong to the most well-to-do layers of society. At the same time, they are guaranteed a place, one might say, in the "very middle of the middle class." Can it be said that there is at least the prospect of something similar in Russia?

Answer: I can call what you are talking about our strategic goal, of which we will never lose sight. Already, we are now trying to do the maximum possible to realize this goal. We are all going through a difficult time today. Not just the military, but also cultural and scientific figures, doctors, teachers, and engineers. In a word, those who traditionally belong in the West to the "middle class" are in a difficult situation. Nevertheless, I think that I will not be telling a lie if I say that, on the whole, more has been done and is being done for servicemen than for other sectors of the population.

Last year, the monetary allowance of servicemen was raised five times. From 1 October, compensation was set for expenditures on the support of their children in school and pre-school institutions (up to 80 percent). The non-working wives of servicemen who live where their husbands serve in remote garrisons receive monthly compensatory payments.

On 27 January 1993, a decision was made to again raise officers' pay for appointment by 2.7 times. The rates of pay for military rank was raised by over three times. The monetary allowance of servicemen in compulsory service rose by four to five times. Special benefits were established for servicemen and their family members in areas of conflict between the nationalities. Pensions of Armed Forces' veterans are being reviewed constantly.

Providing servicemen with housing remains the most acute problem. In keeping with the Decree of the President of 21 July 1992, the government allocated an additional 39.3 million rubles for housing construction. The procedure for payment of cooperative housing has been established (calculating that the Ministry of Defense will pay 75 percent of its cost).

At present, the government of the Russian Federation is examining the state program for providing servicemen and persons discharged from the armed services with housing. The program provides for doubling over three years the volume of housing construction and for breaking by the end of 1995 the trend in the growth of the number of servicemen without apartments.

I will not mention the other measures of a social nature. The readers of your newspaper are, no doubt, well acquainted with them. I will merely stress that we are not content either with the measures taken or the ones that are moot. The soldier's lot is not an easy one. Officers are also having a hard time of it. In Russia, however, as in other countries, the main source of finance for the Army will continue to be the state budget. Therefore, its future well-being is directly dependent upon the success of our reforms and whether or not we succeed in establishing an effective market economy.

4. The morale of servicemen and veterans unquestionably depends on more than just material well-being. For

example, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA receives many outraged letters about the numerous instances of speculation in military uniforms, orders, and medals. A drive against such practices—which soldiers believe humiliate the Army—has already begun in some places. Moscow Mayor Y. Luzhkov, for instance, has issued a directive on this. Would it be possible to take action on this throughout Russia?

Answer: I fully share the justified indignation that exists over this situation. After all, every order or medal is a reflection of heroic deeds, human fate and, often, blood that has been shed. Those people who resell decorations awarded to other people hold nothing sacred. I feel that the action taken in Moscow—where this despicable practice has been banned—could, of course, be followed in other parts of Russia.

There is, however, another side to the problem you have raised, one that is sad to mention. Some old, single people are forced to sell their awards in order to somehow improve their difficult financial situation. Russia's economy is in a grave state. Nonetheless, believe me, everything possible is being done and will be done to ensure that our veterans do not have to resort to such an extreme measure. I regard this as the direct duty of the state.

While I am answering this question, I cannot pass over another important difficult topic, that of the "Afghantsy"—the veterans of the Afghan war. There was a time when this problem, as if did not exist, was hushed up in every possible way and was even classified. Then, various speculations were talked about, a terrific hullabaloo was raised over the Afgantsy, and attempts were made to drag them into political battles and to use them as a trump card in political games. Many assurances and lavish promises were given. The controversy gradually died down, and many people who went through the fire of Afghanistan were left all alone with their problems.

Now, instead of well-wishing and sympathetic smiles, they are facing annoyance and the reluctance even to listen to them. In connection with this, I would like to remind officials, all who are entrusted with power, that the state is eternally indebted to people who risked their life, who shed their blood in carrying out its orders. I would also like to appeal to the "Afghantsy," however. Be worthy of your comrades who fell in the war.

5. It is said that the Army begins with the concept of the homeland, and a fighter begins with a patriotic education. In our country, a particularly politicized meaning is often attached to the concept of "patriotism." Moreover, for some reason, it is set in opposition to the democratic idea. How do you understand patriotism? What do you understand by the concept "patriotic upbringing."

Answer. Nature has endowed man with a splendid and radiant feeling—love for one's mother, for one's nearest, for one's homeland. It is a capacious feeling, in which devotion, rapture, admiration, pride, and sympathy are fused together. Of course, it manifests itself in every one differently. It is a particularly personal, internal state of man. I consider it an immodest and tactless business to intrude in it, to teach one how to love and why to love.

I mention this because there are people who shamelessly call themselves "the greatest patriots" and who venture to define who can be considered a patriot and who cannot. These people foist their political predilections and ideological convictions on others. They regard national arrogance and haughtiness as the best proof of love for Russia. I regard these actions as morally unscrupulous and irresponsible. Even in the heat of the political struggle, we should not stoop to defamation and stigmatization.

I am convinced that, no matter how acute political disagreements may be, there are fundamental values that are equally cherished by everybody and that unite society. Above all, this is patriotism. For me, patriotism means wholehearted love for one's native land, serving the motherland and the people, a reasoned attitude to the past, admiration for the glorious deeds of our forbears, and boundless gratitude to those who have fought for Russia's honor and dignity, for its freedom and independence.

Not only that, however. I feel a sense of shame for those of my fellow countrymen who allow themselves an arrogant and disdainful attitude toward other nations, to their history, culture, traditions, and unique character. I am deeply convinced that such persons have an equally scornful attitude toward their own nation. I do not accept the sugary and emotional singing of the "patriotic theme." For me, patriotism is an active feeling that inspires us to creative effort. It is the desire to do all we can to make the country richer and stronger and to enable the people to live in peace and happiness, so that each person may feel himself to be a free individual.

6. What would you like to wish the readers of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the day of the defenders of the homeland?

Answer: The new name of the festival is an accurate reflection of its essential nature and widens its narrowly professional framework. There is a reason that it was also customary in the past on 23 February to honor more than only military men. In the kindergartens, schools, technical colleges, institutes, and enterprises, symbolic gifts and flowers were presented on that day to boys and young men. This is, in truth, a festival of men and of manly courage.

We all have a duty to preserve peace and to prevent the spread of regional conflicts in Russia. Here the Army's role is crucial as never before. I will say more: the Armed Forces are, in no small degree, the guarantor of stability in our society.

Allow me, in closing, to cordially congratulate all your readers, the fighting men of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and our veterans on this holiday, and to wish them and theirs good health and happiness.

Radio Rossii Interviews Grachev on Military Issues

LD2302203493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1310 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Phone-in studio program with Russian Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev, hosted by Olga Volkova and Boris Barolskiy—live]

[Text] [Volkova] Today is Defenders of the Fatherland Day, and although we are not entirely familiar with this title, the feel of it is not any the less for us. I have invited to the studio, on the instructions of my colleagues at Radio Rossii, Army General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, Russia's minister of defense.

[Grachev] Hello, esteemed listeners.

[Volkova] Pavel Sergeyevich, it is very nice to greet you and our remarkable servicemen, those who have undertaken very difficult work, obeying orders and taking care of us all every day, today. I have in mind those servicemen who have made the real profession of the soldier their lives. Congratulations.

[Grachev] Thank you. May I take the opportunity to say a few words? Dear servicemen, veterans of war and the armed forces, comrades in arms! I greet you cordially and congratulate you on Defenders of the Fatherland Day. On behalf of the leadership of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and of myself, may I, on this day of celebration, wish you good health, long life, love of life, happiness, success and optimism. We will go on marking our military day on 23 February.

[Volkova] We have the telephones working in the studio and I will give you the numbers at bit later. But now I'd like to ask our listeners, please do not ask personal questions, such as, can you get me housing or move my son from one unit to another. You will understand that we cannot deal with these matters here in the studio, even with Pavel Sergeyevich to help. Write down the telephone numbers: 215-22-29; 215-22-29.

[Barolskiy] Something else about the telephones and the answers. I have already said it today, but I will repeat it: We are simply physically unable to answer all the questions, but we promise that all the facts and requests written down by our assistants will be handed on to the minister.

[Volkova] I should also like to ask our listeners to word their questions precisely, and not to forget to give their names, first names and surnames. While we await your calls, Pavel Sergeyevich—here's the first question.

Of course, everyone is concerned for the fate of our servicemen serving in our Russian Army. It is a young army, nine months in all, just as we are not old. Radio Rossii is two years old, a little bit older than you. So we would like to talk as much as possible about what its daily life is like. Everyone is concerned. I say everyone because I'm judging from the letters our editorial office gets. Why is the Russian Army taking on the main burden of settling the interethnic conflicts which are taking place throughout the CIS?

[Grachev] This is in fact true. The Russian Armed Forces are carrying the main burden of interethnic conflicts which, unfortunately, have invaded the Russian land as well. It is also carrying the burden of responsibility on territories of those states which used to be part of the USSR. This is happening, first, because the Russian Army, in fact, is the only manageable unit of the former USSR that can fulfill practical tasks, including those of stopping bloodbaths in those states where, unfortunately, bloodbaths are taking place. Second, as I said before, and as I am about to confirm again: In all states where interethnic conflicts take place, there is a large community of Russian speakers—not a very fashionable word—whom we have the right and the duty to defend.

[Barolskiy] There have been reports today that the situation in or with Georgia has again flared up. And for the first time I, at least, heard reports of a conflict situation in Adzharia. Shevardnadze was speaking about it.

[Grachev] The situation in Georgia did not just flare up today or yesterday, but long ago. I would like to mention that unfortunately armed formations of Georgian fighters that are out of control, attempt attacks on Russian installations, in order to seize weapons and munitions. Indeed, they did succeed on several occasions in the past. I took resolute steps: A written order has been issued on additional protection and defense of facilities of Russian Federation Armed Forces on the Georgian territory. This order is being put into effect in practical terms. The essence of it is that, in the event of attacks on facilities, servicemen, or their accommodations, our servicemen have the right to use weapons and to shoot to kill.

As regards the situation in Abkhazia and Adzharia, I can say this: There were reports in Adzharia that provocative moves to seize arms dumps and military hardware were allegedly being plotted. These reports were not confirmed, although security was stepped up. As regards Abkhazia, we have installations and units there. They have been placed on heightened alert, and security at military installations has been strengthened. That's it. Meanwhile, stories that Russian troops took part in combat operations against Georgian units are untrue, although I have warned the Georgian leadership, both political and military, on many occasions that if our installations do come under fire or are attacked, then we will shoot to kill. Unfortunately, my statements have not always been correctly understood. There have been attempts at air strikes, attempts at artillery strikes on our installations, and accordingly I have issued an order for the destruction of airborne targets and suppression of firing emplacements from which we have taken incoming fire.

[Volkova] Pavel Sergeyevich, in your latest interviews we have read in the press and heard on the radio, in those speeches, including one at the farmers' congress, where you answered questions from farmers, a long interview in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, and your speech we heard yesterday on Russian television's "Without Retouching," you have spoken at length on the army being undermanned. On 11 February, the Supreme Soviet passed a law on military service. It it difficult to comment on it, for it is very extensive, and yet in it, a large number of people are pronounced exempt from military service. How do you envisage proceeding with armed forces manpower acquisition?

[Grachev] As far as manpower acquisition is concerned, I am, to put it briefly, dissatisfied with what has been set down in the law. We made statements, we sent requests to the Supreme Soviet with regard to conscription of youth into the armed forces, but these statements and amendments were not heeded. My view is, as before, that every able-bodied young man in Russia must serve in the armed forces, regardless of his education, be it higher, be it secondary technical, be it just school education. After all is said and done, if, God forbid, there is some kind of calamity, everybody will have to stand up and defend our fatherland. I do not want people who cannot use weapons to defend the fatherland, because it means unnecessary victims, unnecessary losses, it is just cannon fodder. At the same time I do not call for students to be drafted for military service, but I propose that every young man serves in the armed forces before the age of 25—that is the age by which a young man can successfully graduate from a higher education institution, and, having acquired a higher education certificate, he can then serve in accordance with his speciality for one year.

[Volkova] Four years ago the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers went out onto Manezh Square with posters demanding that students not be drafted and that they be sent back to their colleges. They say that we can send them back and draft them once they have graduated.

[Grachev] Well, I said that I'm not a supporter of not obeying laws or decrees on drafting students. But I am a supporter of first making deep cuts in the number of military faculties in colleges. In my view—and not only mine, teachers themselves and directors at higher education establishments have said this—the military training that we have in colleges is not enough to lead to a substantive military rank, and moreover it is not enough to enable graduates to receive the rank of lieutenant. I think that a young man should serve one year in his trade and after that receive the rank of lieutenant. Then he will be a true defender of the homeland.

[Volkova] Pavel Sergeyevich, some questions from our listeners' letters. (Aleksey Ivanovich Sorokin), who is on a Ministry of Defense pension, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War and a retired colonel in Moscow. He asks when prompt payment of pensions will be sorted out, and when they will be inflation-proofed as prices rise. He evidently sent the letter before the law was signed. And we have have a phone call here to the studio from (Petr Ivanovich Matveyev), who is also from Moscow and also fought in the war. Why are career military men, who fought in the war, paid such a small pension by the Ministry of Defense? I have been reading articles about this today as well.

[Grachev] Esteemed viewers ...

[Volkova] Listeners!

[Grachev] Listeners, sorry, I have good news for you, in that on 20 February Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin signed a law on pension provision for persons who served in the military and in bodies of the Ministry of the Interior and for their families. The law comes into effect from 1 February this year. A resolution of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on the procedure for implementing this law envisages backdating pensions to officers, warrant officers including those in the navy, conscripts and other servicemen who served under contract and were subsequently discharged, the rank and file and commanding officers, the interior ministry bodies, and their families. To put it briefly, people who became pensioners say 20 or 15 years ago will have their pensions recalculated and will receive a pension equal to that received by officers retiring now. True, there is a problem with the prompt payment of these payments. It is currently done through state banks, including the Russian one. This is an old-fashioned and lengthy process and we are now looking at having pensions paid out through recruitment offices and commissariats, or even sending postal orders to all pensioners.

[Volkova] Well, had this decree, I mean this law, been signed a few days earlier, it would have been a significant, a major present, to make our veterans happy—because I'm afraid not everyone is listening to us now, and it has not been widely published yet.

[Grachev] Well, it certainly is a present on the eve of our holiday ...

[Volkova, interrupting] On the day of the holiday.

[Grachev] Well, actually, on the eve of the holiday: it was signed on 20 February. But then, unfortunately, as you have said, you know, many different laws are considered at the Supreme Soviet, and it appears that this law was considered in its turn, before our holiday, and, to our joy, it was passed after all.

[Volkova] Here are some more questions. You have certainly spoken on this subject a lot already. That is, on the problem of accommodation, the most sore subject at present. I'm not really sure which is better, either to have a roof over one's head but no money, or the other way round. But in yesterday's program you cited a figure that I found horrifying. You said that there will be a further 450,000 families without apartments; yet yet very optimistic schedules have been fixed. How did you make these plans?

[Grachev] I am not the one who fixed the optimistic schedules. The optimistic schedules were fixed in the law on the status of servicemen, which specifies for local authorities a timetable for providing living accommodation over three months. Of course, at the moment this is not a realistic timetable, and I would repeat once again that the apartment issue is my main headache at the moment. Despite the great efforts we are making, a considerable number of families are living without apartments, and if they do have somewhere to live, you cannot call them apartments—they are temporary housing totally unsuitable for our families to live in. Clearly, this difficulty, on which many people are criticizing me, clearly they are rightly critical, has fallen to my lot, yet it is beyond my powers to provide housing at a stroke to 450,000 officers, warrant officers, conscript servicemen, and members of their families. However, I can reiterate that the problem is not new, though nobody talked about it before—say, nine months ago when I took on the command of the Russian army, there were 220,000 Russian servicemen without apartments. Now there are 150,000.

[Volkova] Two hundred and twenty thousand?

[Grachev] Yes, that's right, it was 220,000, and now it is 150,000. I will put it directly: The entire budget allocated to us for social needs for 1992 was all spent on the construction of housing for servicemen. We have now given up the construction and upgrading of various facilities like testing grounds, tank training areas, and training grounds, into which, incidentally, the main amounts in the budget once went. We have put all this toward construction. We are finding non-budget funds, we have got involved with domestic and foreign firms. Many heads of administrations have started working quite well toward clearing off the debts on housing matters. There are fine examples when debts have been completely cleared off. Actually, even Moscow has cleared off its debt almost in full this year.

All this, however, is clearly insufficient. Nobody has ever been in command before when there was a mass withdrawal of troops, mass migration of servicemen from the newly independent countries bordering Russia, and those further afield. Even if all of our builders, that is military construction personnel, civilian construction workers, and firms do nothing but build housing for servicemen, they simply cannot build all this housing at once.

I have set the task for 1993 along the same lines: The entire budget allocated for social needs—and more than that—is to be directed into housing. That is the main task.

[Barolskiy] Pavel Sergeyevich, a number of questions which our assistants have brought in concern the officers' assembly which took place the other day, and there are questions which express bewilderment. For example, (Vladimir Dmitriyev) asks: The servicemen who attended the officers assembly violated these acts of the constitution and, clearly, the servicemen's charter in the section which prohibits political activity in the army. Why has this remained, or remains, unpunished?

[Grachev] I should like to explain something here. The fact is that the so-called officers assembly was organized and conducted not by officers on active service but by those officers who have been transferred to the reserve for various reasons, either through expiry of service, for other reasons, or because they do not wish to serve, and so on. Therefore it is their right, their right. But, I do indeed go along with the writer of this letter: The action—it has been called a political show—was carried on outside the law on defense; it was conducted completely beyond the requirements of the constitution; it was definitely an organized political assemblage of various currents, and if you watched it closely on television then you could see in the presidium a very familiar and well-known contingent sitting at the presidium table.

This, however, is not the most frightening thing. I should like to say that acting service officers did not respond to this assemblage and did not turn up, although some people are saying that the minister of defense issued a ban, threatening to persecute officers; I did not ban anyone, the only thing I did was to be among the troops the day before this assemblage, in the Northwestern Group of Troops, in the Leningrad Military District, the Volga and Urals military districts, and I chatted with the officers about their opinions on the officers assembly. They were unanimous that such an event should not be held because it—this event—was very dangerous. It leads to a split among the officer corps, and it is particularly because of these difficulties which from time to time occur in the country and, naturally, in the army, that some people, for the sake of their own political ambitions, take armed servicemen as their assistants, although this will in point of fact break up the armed forces and set some officers up against others. And what occurred is clear testimony to this.

However, the fact that this assembly was held could even be a good thing; the fact is that television viewers and radio listeners were finally able to see ...

[Barolskiy] Who is who!

[Grachev] Who is who, yes, their true faces. They simply got it wrong with their officers assembly, their so-called officers assembly. And even after the assembly I met with heroes of the Soviet Union and veterans of the armed forces and with ordinary people in the streets, and they were extremely indignant, and at the same time they were very worried by certain slogans which were flourishing there, for example, there were calls to arms, to stand at the barricades—what do they mean, who should stand against whom? If they stand at the barricades, then who will be the first to do so? The people who have weapons. Who will be the second to stand there? Ordinary people, workers and peasants who will come to this political assemblage? And those leaders who are calling

people to violence and to take to the barricades, they will withdraw, they will hide away, they are cowards.

[Barolskiy] (Vera Dmitriyevna Zaytseva) asks the following question: What is your attitude to the statement made by your immediate deputy at the general officers' assembly to the effect that the hour has come, that is, he called for a military coup?

[Grachev] Which deputy are we talking about?

[Barolskiy] I do not know, the question does not say.

[Grachev] Esteemed (Vera Dmitriyevna), my deputy did not attend the officers' assembly, there were no statements of this kind. Perhaps, you have in mind the fact that Colonel General Vladislav Alekseyevich Achalov attended the assembly and said in his speech that, in fact, the third world war is on at present, being waged by economic or political means, I did not get that. Vladislav Alekseyevich Achalov is not a deputy defense minister, he was dismissed from the armed forces 18 months ago, and I regret that this sensible—in principle—person attended the assembly and, what is worse and not to the colonel general's credit, found himself in the same company with Lieutenant General Terekhov who organized and chaired the meeting. This is not commendable. He would not have allowed himself anything like this 18 months ago.

[Volkova] I think it will be easy for you to answer the following question from (Polina Mikhaylovna), surname illegible; she is a sergeant in the reserve. Why do you think that women can serve only as cooks and clerks? Well, I know that recently, as you have seen, women have been accepted into the air assault troops. Are you in favor of that?

[Grachev] Yes. Esteemed (Polina Mikhaylovna), you are slightly in error. The point is that I issued a written order six months ago and circulated it to the troops concerning the recruitment of women for the performance of military service. At present, female servicemen are acting not only as cooks and clerks; they are also serving as paratroopers, and they are also the heads of individual services. We have very large numbers of female servicemen in medicine, in the communications troops, and also in my own familiar air assault troops, and I must say that they are coping successfully with their duties, sometimes even better than men. Moreover, at the Military Medical Academy, the first female servicemen have already graduated as doctors, and they have dispersed to garrisons and, according to reports made to commanders, are performing their duties splendidly.

[Barolskiy] Pavel Sergeyevich, a great many people are concerned about bullying. What specific measures have you taken yourself to combat this phenomenon?

[Grachev] Bullying has been and, indeed, still is an urgent matter. We believe it reached a peak in 1984, 1985, and 1986 when people actually died as a result of attitudes described as contravening the regulations. I ought to say that a number of harsh and severe measures have now been taken in order to put a stop to this shameful practice. We have trained the commanders and hold them strictly liable to the extent that they could lose their positions. We are organizing the public to combat this evil. We are trying to staff subunits with servicemen who live relatively close to one another. We use the committees of soldiers' mothers in our work, committees that are doing progressive work. We use the public in our work as well as the parents of those servicemen who find it all too easy to use their fists. This is having an effect, and I have to report that there is none of the bullying on a massive scale in the army today that there used to be. We are glad about that, even though there are still individual instances and we are combatting this evil. I think that by dint of joint efforts, including the use of the mass media and Radio Rossii, we will put this matter in order.

[Barolskiy] In connection with this, one more question. It concerns a professional army.

[Grachev] There is a lot of talk about a professional army. Some are in favor, others are categorically against. I support this option: That we have an army that is partially drawn from conscripts under the law on universal military service, and partially from people on contract, that is, professionals. A young man drafted to the army at age 18 is, unfortunately, unable to completely master the latest and highly complex armaments or even, for example, a tank. It takes a certain amount of knowledge in order to be able to operate a modern tank such as the T-80. It also takes experience and affection for the tank. So we are now giving jobs such as tank mechanic to people who are serving under contract. I might add that at the moment there are already over 15,000 men serving under contract in the Russian Army. The number of applicants is continuing to grow. Although their number is growing, the main problem, of course, is inadequate financial provision. So I'm in favor of an army partially under contract and partially recruited under the law on universal military service.

[Volkova] I will again return to the letters. An angry letter from Kalinin oblast, so angry that the lady listener who wrote it forgot to indicate her surname and patronymic. However, despite this problem, I will nevertheless read it out, the more so as there is an address to you: Please tell Army General Grachev, Pavel Sergeyevich, that there are still bureaucrats in Russia, for instance in the army which is situated in Kimry—here the military unit is indicated, and I believe that this question requires checking out, that is why I will not mention the number of the unit—there the soldiers are stealing from each other. The private soldier is being paid very little. The soldiers go hungry and cold for entire days. They are badly dressed. Well, we have started receiving such letters. I recently returned from a unit—I was in the far north—the quality of the food is good, but the soldiers regard the food ration as being too small. When I asked the commander if everything was fine with food, I

received the reply that the food rations fixed in the defense minister's order are being observed.

My question is the following: Is it a long time ago that these food rations have been revised inasmuch—well, it is clear that our life has become a bit harder, perhaps, and somehow, we do not pay attention to this. And, if possible, could you tell us a bit more in detail: Which part of the military budget is being allocated for maintenance, food, kit allowance, well, everything connected with upkeep?

[Grachev] Well, the first part of the question. Unfortunately, the lady listener is right, we still have bureaucrats, including in the Russian Army, whom I sack mercilessly. but, unfortunately, these bureaucrats, former officers, at once develop a grudge against the army, against the defense minister, proclaim themselves to be sensible and progressive-minded officers and insinuate themselves into these collectives, including into the movement which calls itself the All-army Officers' Assembly. I will continue to adopt a very serious and harsh attitude towards those bureaucrats who do not respect and do not love soldiers. In turn, I want to say that the Defense Ministry has been doing quite a lot in the context of the social protection of conscripts.

I want to let you know that since 1 January, the rate of pay of a conscript ranges between 1,000 and 2,000 rubles [R], while sergeants appointed to officers' posts are paid R5,000. For a specialist qualification and special conditions of service a remuneration is envisaged ranging from 30 to 80 percent of the rate of pay. When transferred to the reserve one one-time grant equal to a minimum wage is paid out: From 1 February this is R2,250; previously, it was R500. Soldiers and sergeants who do not have parents to look after them receive in addition a monthly grant of R1,000, and when transferred to the reserve they receive R11,500. We have also increased expenditures on food. For instance, I want to tell you that today a soldier receives R180 worth of food a day.

[Volkova] That is only a breakfast.

[Grachev] That is a breakfast if you live outside the army. The armey's prices are far lower than those in the shops, the more so those in the cooperative shops.

[Barolskiy] Messing is also of importance.

[Grachev] Yes, messing is also of significance. Thus we are endeavoring to improve the living conditions and the provision of pay for conscripts.

[Barolskiy] Pavel Sergeyevich, here is an interesting question, in my view: What has happened to Major (Lopatin), former deputy of the USSR? Will you take him back into the army?

[Grachev] I do not know now what is happening to Major (Lopatin). According to the information that I have, he has found some job or other in government structures, with some minister. I don't know in what capacity he is there. I would take him back into the army, should he want to serve where he used to, if he goes to the north to serve in the army, or to the far east. However, as far as I know, (Lopatin) has no intention of going away from Moscow. Unfortunately, in Moscow there is no job for a man with his qualifications.

[Barolskiy] I see.

[Volkova] Can I ask you a kind of personal question? You say: I have taken this or that decision, I will do this or that. I realize that you have the last word, but are decisions taken in a collegiate manner in the army, or is your word law?

[Grachev] The army still has a system of one-man command although there are collegiate bodies, including the Defense Ministry Collegium, which discuss the main issues and advise the defense minister on the best ways to approach them. The minister then issues a ruling, after thinking everything through properly. He personally signs the ruling and is personally responsible for it, which is why I speak in the first person.

[Barolskiy] Could you now give us your personal opinion: How did we show at the exhibition in Abu-Dhabi? Many mass media say we did not show particularly well. What is your personal feeling?

[Volkova] Pavel Sergeyevich himself certainly looked fine, in civilian clothes.

[Grachev, laughing] Well, this is not true. I do not know which mass media say this, though there were plenty of Russian representatives there. I should like to tell you that our exhibition was the strongest, the most powerful, and the most impressive. We received the first prize for the hardware we exhibited for all the world to see. All the chief designers went to the exhibition along with me, also most of the directors of military-industrial complex enterprises, and we showed what we had. It was an impressive spectacle. Despite economic and political difficulties in our country, we have the means to defend our fatherland, and we have the people who will defend it.

[Volkova] Our public movements, such as Soldiers' Mothers, would very much like to help you in this. What is your attitude to them? How do you feel about them?

[Grachev] It is ambiguous. I have very close links with the movement of those soldiers' mothers who are progressive thinkers. What I mean by progressive is that these committees help the defense minister both with regard to conscription into the armed forces, and also with regard to monitoring the material security and catering for servicemen in military subunits, their everyday life. They promptly advise us of any negative aspects they observe in military units, and then we act together with this movement to exert our influence and to prevent possible conflicts. Not so long ago, I visited the 201st Motorized Rifle Division alongside some representatives of the Movement of Soldiers' Mothers from

Omsk, a fine movement that. We visited all the military units together, we talked to the soldiers, they looked at the conditions of life there—and now they are providing assistance to these servicemen together with me.

My attitude to those movements that, as it were, discredit our army is extremely negative. I know not who they are working for, or whether they are patriots, the people from this movement. I cannot understand those movements that come to Moscow and start staging strikes here, with all that shouting and abuse, directed not just at the Ministry of Defense, but at other government structures. I have had many meetings with leaders of these movements. I even invited them to work at the Defense Ministry. There we have a directorate responsible for working with personnel, and I intended to set up a department comprising leaders of these movements, to work together, to influence, say, the regional, the local structures of the movements of servicemen's mothers. But it never went further than just talking. When I outlined to them what kind of work they would do, where they would go and who they would meet at some distant garrisons, they simply walked out on me, and have not come back since. So it is not really clear what their point is.

[Volkova] Pavel Sergeyevich, we have talked about soldiers on extended service, we have talked about pensions, and now could we talk about the life of our young officers? There is a joke going round in the troops now: Nothing disciplines an officer as well as when he has no money whatsoever. Either the wages are too late in coming, or they are clearly insufficient. What awaits them, what do you have in store to make them happier in the near future? Have you anything in store?

[Grachev] We have already made them happy, we have. In February, officers had a new rate of pay, which is even higher than in January. From January this year, pay for servicemen went up significantly, by a factor of 2.7. Let us take platoon commanders, the most socially disadvantaged of all servicemen. From January, their pay went up to R20 to 21,000.

[Volkova] Per month?

[Grachev] Yes, per month. Add to that supplementary allowances, such as the allowance for the level of proficiency, which I have already mentioned, and also for service conditions, if one serves in a remote garrison. And let us go even further. After all, military clothing, including officers', is free. I do not know how the civilians make their clothes and how they buy fabric now, but for the military it is free. Another thing. I have recently signed an order to provide free meals for those officers who serve on alert duty. This too is a significant material benefit. So we keep abreast with the times, and if prices go on increasing even further, we shall ensure that servicemen's pay is also increased.

[Barolskiy] Unfortunately, time is pressing, we have only five minutes left on the air.

[Volkova] I have one more question, the final one. Well, maybe it's just to create a special festive mood, but it does worry me a lot. You know that I work at Yunost Fieldpost [musical request radio program for servicemen]. I have many friends in military units. I know that they are listening in now to hear what you say, what you promise, what really goes on in the army, what will the defense minister, on whom his young forces place so many hopes, say. A minister can probably see it more clearly, so, without going too much into politics, what do you think the mood in the army is like?

[Grachev] It varies. The mood varies, I have to say it bluntly. The mood cannot be too good for the simple reasons we have already mentioned. First, the lack of housing; second, the fact that the armed forces are under strength. To our great regret, in many units there are guard details made up of officers. This is intolerable. But where the commanding officers make the right decisions, where the commanding officers can organize not just the service, but also the living conditions and leisure, there the officers' mood is quite good. To sum up, I have visited five districts over two months, as I have already mentioned, I have met with officers. The overwhelming majority of officers correctly understand the difficulties which the army experiences now. They correctly understand that these difficulties have been brought about not by the defense minister or the new leadership but by the difficulties which are in evidence in the country. They understand that these difficulties are of temporary nature, and that the situation both in the army and society can only be considerably improved by hard work, not through demagogy or some political marches or demonstrations

[Barolskiy] Thank you very much, Pavel Sergeyevich. I will remind our listeners that Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, Russian defense minister, was, and still is, in our studio as well as Olga Volkova, my colleague. Thank you very much for this conversation. Please excuse us for such a number of questions, but it is only a fraction of what we have received.

[Volkova] I would like to say just a few words. Many letters and questions have remained unanswered. The department of letters of the Radio Rossii will try to answer them, with your assistance, Pavel Sergeyevich, I hope, if your reception office has not been damaged in Kirov Street, or, to be more precise, in Myasnitskaya Street. Is your reception office situated there?

[Grachev] Yes, indeed, you know that not long ago a crane fell down on our reception office but it was rebuilt a week later and now the reception office is operating. I will be happy to examine all the letters, and my deputies and chiefs will examine these letters, too, and we will answer every letter. If urgent help is needed in some cases, I promise to give this help.

[Volkova] Thank you and once again congratulations on the holiday.

[Grachev] Good bye.

Further on Grachev's Answers to Journalists' Questions on Army

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[Interview with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev by announcers Tatyana Krasnova and Sergey Torchinskiy, with various correspondents in the studio; from the "Without Retouching" program—live; following is sub for item headlined "Grachev Answers Journalists Questions on Army" published in the 23 February Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, beginning on page 27]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Grachev] Good evening, esteemed viewers. Good evening to everyone taking part in this program. I have accepted with pleasure the invitation to take part in the "Without Retouching" program. I'd like to say that I have prepared thoroughly for this broadcast, especially for the five minutes which the presenter has kindly allocated to me. It seems to me that this is a successful form of human contact. One is in the focus of topical questions, and with these questions there isn't much of a chance to hesitate before answering these questions.

I won't hide the fact that I enjoy talking with journalists, and I am even rebuked sometimes by friends for being excessively open with the media. I realize that I should expect extremely varied and topical questions today, and I'm ready to give answers about whatever you ask. This includes questions about dachas, about who was rude to me, and what my attitude to that is.

There are far more important matters than the dacha question, or who has been rude about me and what I think about that, such as, I believe, the fate of our country, of the Russian state, and also of the Russian Army, which is only nine months old. I often wonder how much our society knows about the young Russian Army, and I often conclude that it doesn't know everything. Today's program will obviously help our people know to some extent what the army represents today. All the more so since the interest in the Army at present is extremely intense. Why? I don't think there is any need to explain that, especially now.

Let me say this. We need the Army. We now need an opportunity to complete the reforms that have been begun, to ensure that our people have housing, to bring living standards in the military into line with existing legislation and, in the final analysis, to be able to do our job, which is to ensure combat readiness. Unfortunately, however, there are some who would like to distract the military from purely military matters, to drag officers into the political battle, to use the Army for their own political ends. Worst of all, in my opinion, truly ominous calls have been made recently, such as "Officers to the barricades" and "Officers to arms."

We all know these old slogans, and we all know where they lead. Those who try to sow confusion in the Army and call on it to take up arms should stop and think what could become of that. Do they think of how many human lives it could cost as they pursue their grand designs? Do the people of our state, the Army itself included, really want this? I can take it upon myself to say: The Army doesn't want this, not least because the military and their families are the first to suffer in any upheavals. It's okay if officers are risking just their rank or position—but what if they're risking their lives? The military wants stability more than anyone else.

I think that many will agree that the Army at the moment is the sole reliably governed and well-organized body in society. This is clearly what is worrying certain well-known politicians who are doing all they can to destroy this body and blow it up from within. I have said on many occasions that criticizing me is one thing. Ask me what you want. But it is impermissible to stir up things in the Army, to suspect it and provoke it into impulsive and half-baked actions. That is simply criminal.

Right now, the Army is often accused of being conservatively inclined. The top brass—and I regard that term as derogatory, senior officers is better—is supposedly conservative, which is why the reform is being held up and everything is going badly. But there are many in the Army who are innovative and receptive to new ideas. And it is they who are now defining the shape of our armed forces. And the reforms that we have planned and are already working on are proceeding, I can assure you. With difficulty, but they are proceeding. Incidentally, if our desire to maintain a reliable command system in the Army is regarded as conservatism, our desire for it not to be dragged into political recklessness and bloody chaos, then may God give us more such conservatives. Some are now trying to cast a shadow on the Army, accusing it of freeloading. The military is supposedly demanding a bloated budget and demanding some kind of privileges for themselves. But haven't the military earned them? Is it the fault of the military that uniformed men spilled their blood for 10 years on the fields and in the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan? Was it not the military who at the behest of leaders past spilled their own blood—and that of civilians—in Vilnius, Tbilisi, Sumgait, Karabakh, and other flashpoints? Is it not the military who are now preventing bloody communal strife in various areas? Have the military not earned their keep? The Army has many problems, but despite all the difficulties I can say with sincerity that the Army is under command and absolutely reliable.

Tomorrow, 23 February, is our holiday. We will continue to mark this military festival. I'd like to take this opportunity to congratulate all who are now at duty stations, all who are currently serving in the Army, their parents, and veterans of the armed forces on this excellent holiday. I wish them good health, happiness, success, optimism, and confidence in the future.

Forming our Russian armed forces, we rely on the glorious martial traditions of the Russian and Soviet Army. We are trying to take all that was good in those armies. So, as you can see, we have many ideas, plenty to

do, and I expect that you will have plenty of questions for me. And I'm ready to answer them. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent Adzharov for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] [passage omitted] When you prepare yourself for a program like this one, you read around the subject, and it's all about those dachas, insults, and so on. It just makes you want to cry. We're actually interested in completely different things, first and foremost, the Army's combat readiness. How well it's commanded, how reliable it is; that is, those things that the Army should be good at and what kind of Army it should be. What is your attitude toward combat readiness and new armaments, the really serious things?

[Grachev] Well, to a certain extent I answered that in my opening comments. I would prefer to begin my reply with what our new Russian Army inherited. People who know even a little about the operational structure of what was the Soviet Army....[changes thought] We received districts, divisions, units and subunits that were strategically secondary or even in the rear; that is, districts that, should war break out, would have been busy mobilizing and training people, recruiting military units, and sending them off to the front. So the structure of these districts was such that they had lots of subunits and lots of units, but these were virtually all noncombat units. They were also understaffed. They had the appropriate equipment as well; all our best gear was on the first strategic-defense line, in the Western and Northern Groups of Forces and those districts in Belarus and Ukraine. That's what we inherited, so our main and most immediate task was to restore the command system, a reliable command system for troops and weapons, especially such powerful weapons systems as strategic missiles, the Air Force, and Navy. We have successfully done that.

Second, we had to staff combat-ready units in all districts. We've managed to do that, albeit with difficulty. Third, we had to start forming new combat entities in line with the established structure of our armed forces, and this is proceeding, albeit again with difficulty. As of today then, as I said earlier, only nine months on, we have been able to create an Army that is capable in today's conditions of performing its principal duty, which is to repulse aggression from outside should it arise. [passage omitted]

[Vladimir Gavrilenko, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent] Pavel Sergeyevich, the dominant theme of our newspaper has also always been the defense capability and the combat-readiness of the armed forces, and it continues to be so today. Naturally, to the extent that it is possible to publish, we publish, and there appears to be a mass of responses. But in recent times, the most significant event about which in general there has been much discussion is the START II Treaty. As you know, you concluded it on 3 January. At the forefront of the readers' response, so to speak, we have taken these responses upon ourselves and, you know, right up to wails about complete disarmament. What is your attitude toward this, especially as you will, after all, have to defend START in the Supreme Soviet?

[Grachev] Yes, to defend....[changes thought] I am making preparations for this defense. Of course, it is difficult in three minutes to describe the START II Treaty in full. The only thing I will say is: First, before fulfilling the START II Treaty, it is necessary to fulfill the START I Treaty, which so far we have not embarked upon. The START II Treaty continues from START I. The only thing I want to stress for those who really do feel that we are allegedly disarming ourselves is that in signing the START I Treaty, some aspects really were detrimental and not to the benefit of Russia and, at that time, of the former Soviet Union—say, in the counting of nuclear munitions on the same aircraft. Under START I, an aircraft and missile carrier was counted as one combat unit, although it had, say, 16 or more nuclear bomb mountings. Under the START II Treaty, we parried this question. Now we count the number of carriers on strategic nuclear bombers.

Apart from this, we have more or less achieved a balance in land- based strategic nuclear weapons. We have silos where at present there are strategic multiple-warhead missiles being replaced by single warhead missiles. We have thus reduced to a significant degree the amount of resources allocated to equipping such silos for single warhead missiles. That's the second point.

Third, most importantly, counts have shown that the number of those nuclear munitions by the year 2000—and there are 3,000- 3,500 of them—testify to the fact that with these munitions we not only retain a nuclear shield but remain capable, if necessary, of destroying not only a probable foe but the whole planet, including ourselves.

At present, it is not necessary to speak of the balance of missiles we each have, because nuclear war is a catastrophe for the whole world. Let us turn to the Chernobyl tragedy: One nuclear reactor caused grief, not only to Russia and Ukraine but to the Baltic states and beyond. This tragedy exists to this day. That is what I am talking about.

It is my firm intention to fulfill the START I and START II Treaties—if ratified by the Supreme Soviet, of course—and to go further, but after having included all five nuclear states in this treaty, and to strive for the complete destruction of nuclear weapons. [passage omitted: announcer Krasnova gives floor to Aleksandr Sheykin of PRAVDA]

[Aleksandr Sheykin, PRAVDA correspondent] Pavel Sergeyevich, of course I understand that generals ought to have dachas, but this is not the point. The point is the corruption that is currently gnawing away at the Army. Well, I especially took with me a document addressed to the commander, Major General of Aviation Lipatov. Well, the hard currency received from the marketing of used engines must be deposited in 12 foreign banks. It is

clear that this is the money that people lose personally. This, then, is what corruption looks like. Aren't you disturbed by the participation in commercial structures?

[Grachev] It is a no mean impediment. The point is that even when the Soviet Army was in existence, in January 1991, there was permission to engage in commercial activities, including in the Army. Well, when this permission reached our military districts, there began an intensive process whereby the commanding officers, in the main, were joining commercial structures. It must be stated outright that, during that period, they began to be more preoccupied with commercial activities than with combat training. Some did this honestly and normally, but a large part of the officer corps got bogged down in corruption. I do not conceal this fact. All this took place before the creation of the Russian Army and the issue of the Russian president's decree banning commercial activities in the Russian Army. My order banning commercial activities followed.

It was, of course, difficult to eradicate by a magic wand what was already well under way—things were sold and paid for. We began to wage a merciless struggle. I must tell you honestly that two current big commanders, one of a district and one of the fleet, received serious disciplinary punishments for conniving at commercial activities. More than 3,000 officers received disciplinary and financial fines; 46 generals and officers have been brought to book. This, in practical terms, made it possible for us to solve the commercial problem, although even now these elements are occasionally making themselves felt.

Quite recently a major general of aviation in the Far East military okrug was exposed as having engaged in commercial activities. Criminal proceedings are currently under way against him.

As far as the engines that were written off are concerned, I have looked into this matter thoroughly. Payment really is being made through the banks of foreign states, but that question can be resolved, and all the resources, all that money that was paid for the engines will be returned to the Ministry of Defense and will go to building housing for servicemen.

[Torchinskiy] Thank you.

[Krasnova] Thank you Pavel Sergeyevich. Vladimir Varin, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. And ARGUMENTY I FAKTY should get ready.

[Varin] I have a question about the combat readiness of the army, in particular, about the call-up. [passage omitted: quotes 30 Nov Supreme Soviet report by Grachev on call-up and subsequent reports on state of call-up] There was also a report that four sailors in the Pacific Fleet had died of exhaustion due to malnutrition, 31 were hospitalized, thought to be suffering from poor nutrition, and 2,000 recruits had symptoms of exhaustion due to malnutrition.

[Grachev, sighing heavily] Things are very difficult with the call-up, and I confirm that we do not need a call-up like that or an army like that. But well, the fact of the matter is that the call- up is determined not by the minister of defense but by the government and the president, that is the first thing. In the second place, the call-up is determined on the basis of the minimum quantity of personnel necessary to bring the armed forces not up to 100 percent but up to the minimum—the minimum is around 75-80 percent. We are not even reaching the minimum.

In the third place, well, the call-up has ended—we will look upon the autumn and the spring call-up as having ended—the call- up ended recently. We were able to call up 93.6 percent. I have to say that the contingent does not satisfy us, of course, although we used to be accused of having the military and medical commissions calling men up then, in the fourth period. The medical certificate is now produced by independent medical commissions and they let through such young lads, including those suffering from poor nutrition, into the army. We are carrying out some of the medical examinations on the spot, we are returning some of the men back to where they were called up from, and some of the people, as was the case in the Pacific Fleet, although four people did not die of malnutrition—I do not know where you got that information from...[changes thought] But there were instances of poor nutrition. I issued an order on additional food and additional medical examinations for such lads. But there are some who are 1.90 meters tall, weighing 63 kg. Just think about what they must have been given to eat in civilian life. Well, this does exist. There is such material because we have many now who have deferred call-up, there are many who refuse to obey the call-up—unfortunately, the law enforcement bodies are not fighting that evil well. Therefore we make the best of what there is, unfortunately.

[Krasnova] Thank you Pavel Sergeyevich. Over to Andrey Uglanov of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. INTERFAX should get ready.

[Uglanov] Pavel Sergeyevich, a few words, please, about the reform in the army. As far as I know, the former political leaders who were in the troops until recently and who became assistant commanders without the right to give orders when the activity of the Communist Party was allowed once again, recently became assistant commanders with the right to issue orders. What is that connected with? Then, under the law on defense of 24 September 1992, a limit was set on the age of generals; they could only stay in the army until they were in their 60s. As far as I know, there are around 60 people now who are over that age, and one of the generals is 71—eh, pardon me—that's right. And the last thing, very quickly. Under the law on status—I will not beat about the bush...

[Krasnova, interrupting] Three questions [laughs, several voices heard at once]

[Uglanov] Under the law on status, the local bodies of power are obliged to provide housing within three months and to find within one month work for servicemen who have been discharged and their families. Can that be implemented? That was agreed [words indistinct] [Krasnova laughs]

[Torchinskiy] In three minutes, please.

[Grachev] A long question, short replies. Well the first is on the institution of assistant commander educator, and I issued an order on having deputy commanders instead of assistant commanders in educational work. That does not mean that we are putting former political workers in this post. No, they have different functions and tasks, and they do not implement the policy of any party or any party trend. We are placing not just political workers but also former commanders in this post; there are officers of other specialities there, too. That is the first thing. But, of course, former political workers who have found their place in the new structures of the Russian Army are in the majority in these posts—those who have not found their places have gone over to other posts, but those who are absolutely like fish out of water have left the army, unfortunately, and...

[Torchinskiy, interrupting] And have gone on. [words indistinct, off microphone]

[Grachev] And have gone on, and I think [words indistinct, several voices heard at the same time].

[Uglanov] [words indistinct, several voices heard at the same time] at the Officers' Assembly...

[Grachev, interrupting] Being termed the most progressive detachment of the Russian Army. Well, as far as the age for serving in the army goes, yes, we really still do have in the army 65 generals over the age of 60. But I will say this: nine generals are deputies, and they have the right to fulfil these duties, that is, by permission of the Supreme Soviet alone. Furthermore, 21 generals have been detached to and are performing their service in various civilian ministeries—they have been detached from the ranks of the armed forces. The rest are, by and large, great scholars, the scientific light of the armed forces, which we cannot take leave of so simply or quickly. An exception has been made for them, and they will continue to serve in the army for as long as they have the health and strength to do so. And as for the lieutenant-general whom you spoke of, yes, there is such a man: Lieutenant-General Kislitsin.

[Unidentified correspondent] That is right.

[Grachev] Unfortunately, he has been called up and is not a general of the Ministry of Defense but of the State Security Committee. He served in government communications in the Federal Agency of Government Communcications and Information, which is subordinate to the Ministry of Security, so he has nothing to do with the army. Some confuse all people with epaulettes as belonging to the armed forces. That is far from being the case. And, third...

[Uglanov, interrupting] About the law on status.

[Grachev] No, not about the law on status. You asked a question about [words indistinct, several people speak at once off the microphone]

[Uglanov] Yes, about the local bodies of power being obliged to provide housing within three months.

[Grachev] I dream of officers or warrant officers who are transferred to serve in another place receiving a well-appointed apartment within three months. I think that this is nt a reality yet. It will be a reality when we provide the now 150,000 men who do not have apartments with housing. There will be a further 450,000 without apartments by 1995. Once we have provided them with housing, the real opportunity will arise for implementing that order that sets a three-month time limit.

[Krasnova] Thank you Pavel Sergeyevich. Viktor Akimov represents the INTERFAX agency. And Radio Liberty is getting ready. [passage omitted: correspondent and presenters exchange pleasantries]

[Akimov] Pavel Sergeyevich, I have a short question, and I would like an extremely frank answer. I would like to remove your general's uniform and see what sort of man lies underneath. [passage omitted, elaborating on question]

[Grachev] First of all, I am a very ordinary person from a very ordinary working peasant's family. Our family never had any military men in it ranked higher than senior sergeant. That was my father, who took part in the Great Fatherland War. As a child, I never dreamed of becoming a military man. It was just by chance that I went to college. I liked skiing, and at one time I was a Master of Sport. And, as usual, when school finishes, there are recruiters who invite you to join some institute or other or some higher educational institution virtually without any examinations. I dreamed of getting into the Army Central Sporting Club's skiing team. I was told that it was not possible to get in without going to college. Then I entered the paratroopers college because I lived near a paratrooper unit, and I had seen what service life was like for the paratroopers. I was interested in the skiing that they did there. While I was studying in the college, I became fascinated with military service. I gave up skiing. That is how I became a military man.

[Akimov] If you had not become a military man, what civilian profession would you have chosen?

[Grachev] What civilian profession? I dreamed of entering the Physical Culture Institute and becoming a ski instructor.

[Akimov] What about your free time?

[Grachev] Ha! Free time! Travel with me on official trips sometime and you will see how much free time the defense minister has. But at times we find an hour or two of free time. Sometimes even three. How do I spend the time? It is fashionable to play tennis. I have learned more or less how to play tennis. I love swimming, playing volleyball, and I play center forward for the government soccer team.

[Akimov] Have you scored any goals?

[Grachev] Yes.

[Krasnova] Thank you. Dmitriy Voltik from Radio Liberty. IZVESTIYA will be next.

[Voltik] Pavel Sergeyevich, you have already said that refusal to serve in the army is evil. [passage omitted]

[Grachev] You know, this is not a tragedy created by those people who refuse to serve in the army. It is a tragedy created by the attitude of our former leadership toward the army. And, I must say that this attitude, to a certain extent, deteriorated somewhere around 1985 when they stopped showing any concern at all for the army and believed that the army was an unnecessary appendage of our society and that it was really a parasite eating everything that the workers and peasants produced. But now, as we see, this is not so. The army is being reduced, but there is no improvement in people's lives. During those years, the atmosphere was whipped up that we did not need the army. That is the first thing.

Second, 1985 and later saw the dawn of so-called bullying, when it was really terrible to serve in the army, and people could see this. Those who were demobilized told of the horrors of the barracks. Naturally, this had quite a considerable effect on young people and their parents. That is the second aspect.

The third aspect is, once again these ill-starred deferments. I am not in any way calling on students to serve. I am sometimes misunderstood on this. I call on all healthy young people to serve, up to the age of, say, 25. This does not mean that students must come in. Those with higher education serve one year. Those with secondary education serve 18 months. Young people are divided into sheep and goats. Someone who is unable to get into the institute must go into the army, while his neighbor across the landing who got into the institute—whether this was right or not, is another matter—avoids the army. And of course, this has a marked psychological effect on young men, and they refuse to serve.

The fact that it is necessary to seek them out and hunt them...[changes thought] I do not approve of this practice, and I am unaware of any cases in which people are hauled out of bed at night by soldiers with machine guns. But we send them notification, then a second and a third. The military commissar comes to the apartment and talks to the parents and persuades them, and after this, people are called up into the army.

I repeat once again that these things would not happen if the country had a law that specified universal conscription, as is done in many civilian states, where even a person with higher education, who has not been to army school, does not have the right to find work in his speciality and is unable to do so. That is what I call for.

[Krasnova] Aleksandra Ugarskaya of IZVESTIYA. TRUD is next.

[Ugarskaya] Mr. Minister of Defense—I am addressing you in this manner since you are the founder of a dynasty of ministers of the new Russia, of the Russian army—I would like to take advantage of the fact that I am the only woman here among my colleagues, not counting the presenter, of course, and if you do not mind, perhaps I could ask you a series of short questions?

[Grachev] I agree, Aleksandra Ivanovna, but perhaps calling me mister is not quite serious—in all the army regulations, I am still to be addressed as comrade minister.

[Ugarskaya] I am not in the army. Perhaps, you could answer this question. You have spoken about the traditions of the Russian and Soviet Army that you would like to transfer into or see in the new Russian Army. What qualities do you wish for the present Russian officers who are not models of nobility.

[Grachev] Well, probably, honor. To have one's honor and dignity, devotion to the cause that one serves, and to love one's state.

[Ugarskaya] Russian officers used to be famous for their vices: cards, wine, women, money. Do you think that these will come into the new army?

[Grachev] It is difficult to say, but at present, a large number of people, various politicians, are striving to copy everything from the old Russian Army. Perhaps, this will happen, although I am not in favor of it.

[Ugarskaya] Do you not suffer from any of these qualities?

[Grachev] Well, I am an ordinary man. It may be that I am not sinless. I am not without vices.

[Ugarskaya] It is good to hear it. Today, the Russian Army has a presence in the nearby foreign countries. What does this presence cost the Russian taxpayer?

[Grachev] Quite a fair amount. But the Russian Army is only temporalily on the territories of the nearby foreign countries. Since we are simply not able to withdraw en masse in a very short period—we do not have the infrastructure for this—this withdrawal will be taking place until the year 1995 and will cost our people, our taxpayers, a good deal of money.

[Ugarskaya] Could you give an approximate figure?

[Grachev] I have not tallied it up, Aleksandra Ivanovna, because our prices change every month, so it is difficult to tell you now—at what prices, those of 1991, 1992. or 1993?

[Ugarskaya] I must contradict you there. Every family today tallies up how much life will cost tomorrow.

[Grachev] I also live on my pay and I tally up; then the next day, the prices have changed, and I have to tally it up again, unfortunately.

[Krasnova] We give the floor to Viktor Badurkin of TRUD. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI is next.

[Badurkin] Pavel Sergeyevich, is it easy to be a Russian soldier? [passage omitted on soldiers' hardships]

[Grachev] It is very difficult not only to be a Russian soldier but also a Russian officer. It is difficult, in the first place, because of the insufficiently high, and perhaps I can say straight out, the low staffing level of our armed forces. There are units and subunits where soldiers are on combat duty for two or three days before being relieved.

Unfortunately, because of the low staffing levels at the private and sergeant level, a very large number of watch duties are taken up by officers. Although we have achieved some sort of compensation, additional monetary rewards, when it comes to morale, this considerably undermines the officer's attitude to his service and to the long-term prospects of his service.

As for serving in hot spots, there are certain benefits, including some for officers and sergeants. Again, these take the form of monetary rewards, although these are not the main thing. The main thing is people's lives. I have always believed, I still believe, and I set for myself the goal, first of all, of preserving the lives of our people. That is my credo.

From 1 January 1993, no single young person will serve in nearby or distant foreign countries without his consent. It will be only on a contract basis with the consent not only of the person involved, but we are also striving to ensure that we get his parents' consent. Those soldiers and sergeants who were called up before 1 January will serve out their period in those units abroad where they are now stationed.

As for pay, yes, of course, for the present times, it is not very high for soldiers and sergeants, but we have been able to ensure that at the present time, a soldier receives not the three or five or eight rubles that he received previously but between 1,000 and 2,000 rubles. And in the so-called hot spots he receives 8,000- 9,000 rubles. The soldier who goes voluntarily, on the basis of a contract, receives 16,000-18,000 rubles. Although, I say straight out that this is not very much.

[Krasnova] Gennadiy Zhavoronkov of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

[Zhavoronkov] Pavel Sergeyevich, from time to time we are shaken by sensational reports. It was recently stated to us that an officers assembly of Ukraine decided to disconnect their ballistic missiles from the central command panel. What is this? That is, what will happen then? Are we threatened by nuclear war from former Union states, and why does the Russian Ministry of Defense not comment on such statements which so alarm society?

[Grachev] Officers assemblies are all the rage now, and some people seem to think that these assemblies will be running the armed forces in the near future. That is out of the question, and no matter who demands what, the unified command system does exist and all missile systems, including those in the Ukraine, are under that command. At the last meeting in Moscow between the two presidents, Boris Nikolayevich and Ukrainian President Kravchuk, both sides again confirmed that the nuclear missiles are under the control of Russian military and civilian experts. I believe that there are no grounds to worry that someone will remove the missiles, even less that the officers assembly will assume command of nuclear missiles. It has neither the know-how nor the competence or experience, none at all. [passage omitted]

[Nekhoroshev] Pavel Sergeyevich, you know I have heard many good words said about you, but also a lot of criticism in Kurgan- Tyube and Kulyab in Tajikistan, which you visited recently. [passage omitted: quotes complaints to the effect that Grachev could have supplied soldiers with reliable weapons and new uniforms; exhibition in Abu Dhabi showed that Russia has most efficient weapons] So why haven't two or three tanks, at least, been brought to those hot spots over the last two years to help people there? After all, they have been driven to desperation. You have seen this.

[Grachev] Well, look, over the last, as you have said, two or three years, the military leaders have been unable to move in equipment, and once again it is Grachev who gets the blame. Do you understand? Grachev is to blame for everything now.

[Nekhoroshev] All right, but...

[Grachev, interrupting] The purpose of my visit to Dushanbe, to Kulyab, to Kurgan-Tyube, and other places was actually to see for myself and meet the people concerned. And, you know, I met everyone right down to the rank-and-file soldiers. Following my visit, immediate measures were taken, among them the supply of uniforms for our servicemen. Regarding the 201st Division's armaments, I will say that the division is armed with the most modern equipment, while the issue of bringing additional weapons there is being currently solved in practice.

Speaking about the Abu Dhabi exhibition and its purpose—it was organized in order to renounce the stereotypes like: You should not sell! All this belongs to us! We have already come to an extreme point when all the

forests from the Volga to Khabarovsk are littered with our tanks in huge numbers; you know this very well yourself. Do you think it is combat equipment? No, it is what we accumulated while other countries were looking for markets, selling equipment and weapons, receiving currency, and using this currency to ensure normal life for their people. Grachev is not going to sell tanks to, say, our potential enemies. But why not to sell to such countries as Kuwait, the UAE [United Arab Emirates], Bahrain, or Qatar? Are we afraid of them starting a war against us? Instead, we will get the necessary means to provide human living conditions for our people.

[Nekhoroshev] Pavel Sergeyevich, you have been in Afghanistan and recently you visited Tajikistan. You know that 90 percent of the weapons come from Afghanistan. Do you not think that weapons will again flow to Tajikistan from the very same Bahrain or UAE? After all, there are such cases.

[Grachev] No, I do not think so because, first, I spoke with leaders of those countries; their policy is not aggressive but purely defensive. Second, Afghanistan has accumulated a massive amount of weapons from neighboring states, which is sufficient for them to start any kind of aggression.

[Torchinskiy] Pavel Sergeyevich, benefiting by my position as the program's announcer, I will ask the following question. Recently my colleague from PRAVDA and I visited Batumi; we visited border troops and our troops. [passage omitted: Torchinskiy says that he is not a chauvinist] Why is it that our boys have to live in quite difficult and exhausting conditions when we all know perfectly well that the Georgian army cannot protect the border? This is one thing, you see. And the other thing: Why do we do this free of charge? If they need the border to be protected—and of course it is necessary for us too—why should they not pay for it? Why regard it as some kind of goodwill gesture on our part? No, this is actually a great service, which simply has to be paid for. Why can this not be put bluntly to our neighboring states? Why do we hand things out for free while others do not do the same for us?

[Grachev] You know, I am generally in full agreement with you, but it would be better to put that question to Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov, the minister of security, who is responsible for border troops, when you meet him in a future program. As for the Russian troops, the armed force stationed in Batumi and Gudauta, this is a special matter. There is much that could be said about this.

Just imagine the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus and the section where our troops are stationed. I will not elaborate for a long time on the subject; I will only say that this is a strategically important area for the Russian Army. We have certain strategic interests there and must take every measure to ensure that our troops remain there, otherwise we will lose the Black Sea.

[Torchinskiy] Another question: For several days an orgy was held under the name of the Officers Assembly. What is the attitude of the Defense Ministry and yourself as minister to this event?

[Grachev] You described it as an orgy, but I will call it a political show. For two days....[changes thought] You got a glimpse of who was in the presidium of this assembly: first of all, all well-known leaders of different political ilk, the National Salvation Front, Zyuganov, Alksnis, Makashov, and, unfortunately, Colonel General (Kachalov) among them. The issues that were examined there had nothing to do with the Army, no doubt about that. Although posing as the Officers Assembly, they were examining political issues and, as I have already said, calls to arms and violence were sounded there. This is outrageous. I believe that this was a political show and that pronouncements by certain individuals should be punished by law.

[Torchinskiy] So you regard this as a criminal offense?

[Grachev] No, not the assembly as such. That is their business. The thing is that it was not held within the framework of the Army.

[Torchinskiy] But your orders were violated, since it was attended by officers!

[Grachev] By retired officers. But if some officers did attend it, it was on my permission and that of district commanders, in order to....[changes thought] After all, it was a closed meeting, for unknown reasons, it was an almost underground meeting, so I had to glean information. So about a dozen officers, whose names I know, attended it. The rest, in general, were officers who had been dismissed from the Army, angry about something, officers and commanders who had lost their posts, including for political reasons, and officers who violated the law by engaging in commercial and entrepreneurial activity. [passage omitted]

[Krasnova] What I wanted to ask is this. You have two sons who have followed in your footsteps. One of them, who also graduated from the paratrooper training school, is a lieutenant serving in the Baykal region. And your second son, Valeriy, is due to graduate this year from the Suvorov training school. Pavel Sergeyevich, are their lives as military men affected in any way by the fact that they are sons of the defense minister?

[Grachev] Yes, they are affected. And particularly in the case of my older son. Many people ask why he ended up serving in the back of beyond at the village of Mogocha, on the other side of Lake Baykal. Well, let him start out the hard way. He can come to Moscow (?for a period later). [Journalists sign off, partly obscuring Grachev's final words]

Grachev Says Troops Not Involved in Interethnic Conflicts

LD2402092993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0748 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Moscow, 24 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Russian servicemen did not and do not take part in interethnic conflicts on the territories of the states of the former USSR on anyone's side. They maintain neutrality, Army General Pavel Grachev, Russia's defense minister, said at a briefing at the ministry. In his words, in the course of the Karabakh conflict, not a single incident has been recorded of Russian troop participation in the war on either the Armenian or on the Azeri side. Mercenaries taking part in hostilities in the armies of these states have nothing to do with Russia's Armed Forces, the minister noted.

Rutskoy Comments on Armed Forces' Role

OW2302163893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1547 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the initiative of the head of state, Defenders of the Fatherland Day (formerly Soviet Army Day) is for the first time being observed as a Russian national holiday. The event was commemorated with the laying of wreaths and flowers before the Eternal Flame on the Grave of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin wall on Tuesday [23 February] morning. Participants in the ceremony included Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov, and Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin.

In response to a question as to why President Yeltsin had not taken part in the ceremony, the vice-president said: "The president is on leave. He has the right to rest." Also absent from the ceremony was parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is on a visit to Finland.

The army and the people, Rutskoy told Interfax, are indivisible concepts. "One should not think that everything linked with the Soviet Army is null and void once and for all," he emphasized. The best traditions of the armed forces of Russia and the Soviet Union, opined Rutskoy, should be preserved, as they are inseparable from love for the Fatherland.

Reform in the army, as in Russia as a whole, said the vice- president, is going along with difficulty; enough political will exists, however, to modernize the army along with the society. Rutskoy said that a packet of laws on the armed forces signed on the eve of Defenders of the Fatherland Day had great significance for military reform.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: President Boris Yeltsin, currently at a dacha outside Moscow, signed laws on military posts and military service, as well as on pension guarantees to former servicemen and their families. The first document for the first establishes for the first time the right of Russian citizens to serve by contract or perform alternative duties in place of being drafted.

The second law confirms that the minimal level of military pensions are to be no lower than the minimal level of old-age pensions. Also envisioned is a reconsideration of military pensions under conditions of inflation.

'Dubious' Officers' Assembly Ties Demands to 23 Feb Rally

PM2302152393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 93 p 3

["Own Information" report: "Assembly With Political Aim"]

[Text] The All-Army Officers' Assembly, held in Moscow 20-21 February, de jure remained a highly dubious affair, being unable to confirm the mandate of collective army opinion, so to speak. Of the 500 people present in the hall, only 269 were delegates, and a considerable number of them were reservists. As regards the cadre officers participating in the event, although they were introduced as "representatives of the public," they were not asked for official authority from the Officers' Assemblies of Military Collectives: A badge of the Officers' Union—the main inspirer of the assembly—mainly served as their "pass." Incidentally, Captain First Rank A. Petrov, cochairman of the Coordinating Council of Officers' Assemblies of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, who voiced great doubt about its status and powers, was hissed and accused of inaction. He was then "rehabilitated," however, by Stanislav Terekhov, leader of the Officers' Union, who said that Petrov himself is a decent man and "it is not he who must answer here."

The assembly's aims and tasks, which have a clear political thrust, were stated at the assembly. Whereas the "uniting of all patriotic forces" was proclaimed as the minimum task, the next "threatening gesture"—it was virtually "blessed" in speeches by such opposition representatives as G. Zyuganov, S. Umalatova, A. Sterligov, V. Ampilov, V. Alksnis, and A. Makashov—is the removal of the top military-political leadership and "immediate, formidable pressure."

S. Terekhov proclaimed 23 February the day of "the switch by healthy army forces and the working people" to vigorous action. As could be understood from his concluding speech, this will begin during the holiday demonstration and will be of a nature "consonant with the actions of the authorities and the evolving general situation."

Economic & Other Issues

Yeltsin Issues Decree on Implementing Economic Reform

OW2302173693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree on implementing economic reforms. The president's press service said that the document aims to launch state programs for developing small and medium-sized enterprises and speeding up the formation of a "mass, multimillion class of entrepreneurs as the social basis of the economic reforms being conducted."

The decree stipulates the formation of an international center for training programs, including an international business academy.

Yeltsin also supported the initiatives of executive bodies of Russian Federation republics, territories, and districts to form chambers of private enterprise. Also incorporated was a proposal advanced by the International Foundation for Support of Economic Reforms in Russia and several other organizations on forming an information and communication infrastructure to conduct explanatory work on the Russian government's economic policies.

Government Considers Defense Industry Problems

MK2302144693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Feb 93 p 10

[Nikolay Podlipskiy report: "Defense Sector Problems Discussed by Council of Ministers Presidium"]

[Text] Official spokesmen for the Russian Government declined to comment on the results of a closed meeting of the Russian Council of Ministers Presidium that was held on 19 February. According to confidential information obtained by KOMMERSANT-DAILY, however, the meeting was evidently devoted to defense issues.

Holding a presidium meeting with a closed agenda is a fairly typical way for the Russian Government to discuss certain subjects. The usual "justification" for this is either the extraordinary political situation in the country, or the need to discuss military issues in secret.

This is the second time in two weeks that the Russian Government has addressed the problems afflicting Russia's military industrial sector. At the 4 February government presidium meeting, Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the State Committee for the Defense Industry, was among those who delivered reports. Since the report focused on the results of the implementation of conversion programs in 1992, it was discussed at an open presidium meeting. Glukhikh, however, said at the meeting that the government was currently considering proposals for arms production in 1994-1995 and a plan for promising research and development work on weapons and military equipment. It is only logical to conclude that these are the questions that were raised at the closed presidium meeting on 19 February. While discussing the plans of military equipment production, Russian Government members proceeded from the need to decrease the volume of production because of falling domestic demand. At the same time, however, they argued that Russia should recapture the lost markets of the former Soviet Union (instead of the planned $6 billion from arms trading, Russia received only $1.9.billion in 1992).

Although the Russian Ministries of Economics, Finance, and Foreign Economic Relations had drawn up proposals for ruble stabilization by the day the meeting was held, the proposals were not discussed there. It was decided that the documents submitted will be presented to the president after they are discussed in the regular course of work.

Kozyrev Criticizes Arms Manufacturers

LD2402114993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] In an interview with a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer, the Russian foreign minister has sharply criticized the attitude of Russian industrialists who are acting in defiance of the president's decree on the arms trade. Andrey Kozyrev gave as an example a case where two closely related organizations tried to sell an identical weapons system to one country. One of the organizations asked for 40 million dollars while the other asked for half that amount. Such actions inflict not only material, but also moral, damage on the Russian economy.

Deputy Prime Minister on Money Supply, Energy Cuts

OW2302184593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1654 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha speaking at a meeting of local administrators in the city of Ulyanovsk said the main concept of the government economic policy this year was to tighten money supply. He said the money in short supply should lead to falling prices.

At the same time, the Russian official said the measure in itself was unlikely to bring down inflation or prices but an agreement between energy and metal producers to contain prices could help stabilize them.

Khizha also said that home industries would face what he described as unusual but tight restrictions on energy resources. He said that last year's energy consumption was 14% up in spite of a 20% production slump. And he singled out two possible options. One is to heighten

investment in the oil-refining sector to increase output but with obsolete equipment and technologies remaining intact. The other and more viable option is to invest in the engineering sector to produce energy-saving equipment and technologies.

The Deputy Prime Minister said oil production would decline by at least 50 million tons this year.

Questions Remain Over Ministry of Economy's Statute

PM2302161793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Feb 93 p 1

["Commentary" by Dmitriy Lvov: "The Ministry of Economy—a New Gosplan, or the Conductor of the Marketplace? When Will the Employees of This Department Finally Answer This Key Question? Maybe Tomorrow—at the Council of Ministers Presidium Session? Hardly..."]

[Text] What lies behind the ministry's signboard today? How does it differ from its "nonmarket" brothers of the era of domination of the administrative-edict system? These questions arise when you study the agenda of tomorrow's session of the Council of Ministers Presidium—the Russian Federation Government—which is set to examine draft statutes on the Ministries of Economy, Foreign Economic Relations, and Social Protection.

Both the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations have recently been the targets of severe criticism from the president. The causes of their omissions and imperfections in many ways lie in the unclear definition of their functions, spheres of responsibility, and methods of work. Having inherited from the former Gosplan [State Planning Committee] not only the building but, so it seems to us, the urge to be some kind of superministry, a ministry of ministries, and not having renounced the academic approach characteristic of those of its cadres who came from the scientific sphere, the Ministry of Economy has still not been able to find its own place in management or to elaborate its own style for relations with Federation subjects, regions, and territories. And these are today key questions. It is impossible to move forward without answering them. Therefore it was no accident that the first attempt, on 4 February, to submit statutes on the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations to the Council of Ministers Presidium was unsuccessful, and the question was withdrawn as being underprepared. Ministers Andrey Nechayev and Sergey Glazyev were instructed to present proposals on their ministries within a one-week period, taking account of the criticisms expressed.

Now the period allotted to this work has elapsed. Tomorrow a second discussion is due to take place. But the editors have learned that, as of press time, the ministries had still not presented the government with the materials and documents needed for examination. Will it not prove the case that they will appear only on the eve of the session, and members of Council of Ministers Presidium will be forced to study them post haste? But, judging by the mood of Council of Ministers leaders, we should not expect the statutes to be examined hastily or in an offhand manner. After all, having set itself the task of increasing the controllability of the processes under way in the economy, the government cannot accomplish it without elaborating an "ideology" for the key ministries or without clearly defining their role in this system.

Of course, it is possible to elaborate documents that are irreproachable from the legal point of view. But how appropriate will they be to the current situation—that is the question. Naturally this worries Economy Ministry workers themselves. We have learned that more than one session has taken place in this ministry at which criticism leveled at the ministry has been examined and specific measures elaborated. But after all, the criticism is such that it should be a question not of individual emergency measures, but of the ministry's place in the country's system of administration and its role in the relations between the center and the territories.

It was this problem that was at the center of attention at the recent enlarged session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. The role of the Ministry of Economy as one of the central organs of state administration was examined with regard to the solution of this very problem. Many grievances were voiced by regional leaders. The hard-hitting statement here of Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak, who proposed that Andrey Nechayev be removed from the post of minister—which, incidentally, was greeted with applause—was no coincidence either. This shows what tense relations prevail between the Ministry of Economy and the regions. This means that, in their eyes, the ministry does not play a coordinating role, but still personifies the opposition to them of the center, which does not want to share its powers. This means there has still been no clear redistribution of rights between the capital and the provinces, once more causing tension. The impression arises that people with the mentality of socialist-type planners still call the shots in the Ministry of Economy. After all, definition of the bounds of their powers and functions and rational self-limitation are also a test of the "true market orientation" of the most ardent adepts of the market.

Administration is a broad concept. For it to be effective today forecasts, coordination, and an ability to correctly build relations with the territories are essential. In this light the statute on the ministry is no routine apparatus document, but an encaptulation of the new philosophy in conditions of reform. If these fundamental questions are not resolved, many clauses of the government program for 1993 will also remain on paper, as will the president's budget message, which has still not been adopted, and problems of relations with Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and other Federation subjects and regions will remain unresolved.

The prime minister and government leaders will hardly agree to these acute questions being left unresolved but just driven deeper down. If an ordinary document, as the statute on the ministry may seem at first glance, is treated according to such high standards, we forecast that it will not be passed at the second attempt either. And if the role of a key ministry is not defined, doubts arise as to the advisability of examining statutes on other departments. After all, this is not a ritualistic question, but a question of the effectiveness of the administration of a country which is currently weathering a crisis.

Atomic Energy Official Views Recent Uranium Thefts

LD2002181393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1535 GMT 20 Feb 93

[By KRIM-PRESS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—In the past two years, the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy has registered three cases of theft of uranium in Podolsk, Glazov, and "Arzamas-16". There have been no reported thefts or attempted thefts of plutonium, our correspondent was informed in an interview with Aleksandr Mokhov, head of Administration for Protection of Information, Nuclear Materials, and Sites of the Ministry of Atomic Energy. Since the nuclear industry was set up, and up until 1990, only three similar thefts have occurred: in 1967, 1971, and 1989, the specialist said. In his view, the increased frequency of thefts of nuclear materials recently is primarily due to the deterioration in the economic situation in the country. "People think that by selling a few hundred grammes of stolen uranium for a good price, they will be able to improve their financial position," Mokhov said. In addition, discipline and responsibility among some managers and staff at enterprises, including our specialized services, has deteriorated."

The ministry administration chief also thinks this is due to rumors circulating about the existence of a "black" market in radioactive materials, prices for which allegedly reach millions of dollars. However, Mokhov affirms that the stolen uranium is unlikely to be of any use to anyone. First, there is an official international market for buying and selling nuclear fuel, where prices are in thousands rather than millions of dollars. Second, to manufacture warheads or bombs one needs large quantities of special materials which are practically impossible to steal.

'Progress M-16' Freight Craft Launched

LD2102205393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2020 GMT 21 Feb 93

[Text] Flight Control Center, 21 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—In accordance with the program of further work on board the Mir scientific research complex, the automatic cargo craft "Progress M-16" was launched at 2132 hours on 21 February. The craft was launched to deliver expendable materials and various cargo to the Mir manned complex. The Progress M-16 craft has been put into orbit with the following parameters: period of revolution—88.7 minutes; apogee—254 km; perigee—191 km; orbital inclination—51.6 degrees. According to telemetric information, the on-board systems of the cargo craft are working normally.

Supreme Soviet

Shakhray Hits Parliament on Constitutional Accord

OW2302133093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1321 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian vice-premier and deputy presidential representative in the working group on the elaboration of the constitutional accord, Sergey Shakhray, thinks that at the moment the Supreme Council of the Republic has no formal position on a power sharing agreement. In an exclusive interview with INTERFAX on Tuesday [23 February] he noted that the parliament has yet to officially announce that it favors such an agreement. Furthermore, Shakhray said "it is possible to assume the direct opposite," that is, that it is against the agreement.

At a meeting in Novosibirsk, attended by the heads of councils at different levels under the chairmanship of the head of the Russian Parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, the vice-premier noted, it was directly said that the republic does not need a referendum nor a power sharing agreement, and that it is necessary to convene a regular congress to work out the procedures for the retirement of top officials. "In conditions when the Supreme Council gives no authority to its representatives in the working group and does not adopt a formal resolution on the power sharing agreement, the work of the group will be fruitless and will not lead to any agreement," Shakhray believes.

"I may be mistaken, but Ruslan Khasbulatov cut short his visit to Finland so that the Supreme Council, God forbid, does not vote for a power sharing agreement without him," the presidential representative said.

Plan for Parliamentary Hearings on START II Treaty

OW2302134893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1322 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Defense and Security Committee of the Russian Parliament has approved the plan of hearings on the START-II Treaty. According to the committee chairman Sergey Stepashin, the plan was accepted by the Deputy Speaker Nikolay Ryabov and will be discussed by the presidium on March 1.

Stepashin said the presidium debate on the matter scheduled for February 22 was postponed because of the official visit of the speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov to Finland.

On March 2 hearings will be held on the key provisions of the START-II Treaty and its links with the START-I. The findings of a group of political and legal experts who examined the document will be reported.

On March 9 the possible changes in strategies of nuclear powers will be discussed in the context of the treaty, specifically the future of the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] program.

On March 15 the parliament will compare the limitations imposed by START-II on the two sides and their effect on the structure and size of the armed forces of Russia and the United States.

On March 22 the focuss will be on the prospects of negotiations on strategic offensive armaments, medium-range weapons and nuclear non-proliferation.

The significance of the START-II Treaty for Russia's defense will be discussed on March 29.

The nuclear arms program for the term of the START-II treaty and the federal program of dismantling and utilizing nuclear arsenals till the year 2000 will be debated on April 5.

On April 12 the subject will be the verification procedures and inspections implied by the treaty.

On April 19 hearings will focuss on the contents and volume of work, financial backing and the readiness of the Russian armed forces to implement the START-II Treaty.

According to Stepashin, the date of final hearings on the political, military and economic aspects of the treaty involving the ministers of foreign affairs, defense, security and nuclear energy will be set separately.

Stepashin said that during the hearings opinions will be exchanged and joint sessions held with appropriate committees of the U.S. Congress.

Khasbulatov Discusses Military Reform

OW2402112993 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0051 GMT 20 Feb 93

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by Arkadiy Rodionov; place and date not given; from the "Aty-Baty" program]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rodionov] Recently there has been a lot of talk about reform in the military and about the need to have a new army. How do you see this new Russian Army? How do you imagine it to be?

[Khasbulatov] Let us first define what we currently have. We have the Russian army, both old or new. From where we are today, it looks like a new army. Second, as to the claims that some would like reform, to a large extent reform in the army has already taken place and continues to do so. Those who find themselves uninvolved in reform, who do not participate in it but would rather decimate the army, are the ones who make the most noise about reform.

The processes happening in the army are very complex and even tragic. As the most centralized instrument of a powerful state, it underwent the most change and shock among all society's social institutions. The army is not only a social institution, but also an armed one; as with any armed institution, it has to be centralized. The centralizing mechanism was divided according to the various republics and state structures; the infrastructure was sliced up; and the armed forces found themselves separated instead of being part of a whole. A kind of a scarring process is in progress today. Simultaneously, we have prepared a very serious legal basis so that our armed forces would regain their integrity and internal unity, and would really be the organized armed forces of our federation. But this is a very complex process; you cannot hurry the Supreme Soviet and try to force upon it reforms proposed by separate persons or organizations. We have adopted six laws in less the a year, and have practically made the army a constitutional entity—in other words, we have created a legal and social basis so that every servicemen as well as the army as a whole can feel like a national army, an army which is taken care of by the state and by society.

[Rodionov] The Supreme Soviet has adopted many good laws. Nevertheless, our program receives a lot of letters from servicemen saying this or that law does not work.

[Khasbulatov] We have adopted 700 legal acts during the last two and a half years, thus creating a civilian society—or at least laying the foundation for one. Among other things, we have found a niche in the legal definition of the armed forces. Therefore, the legal activity of parliament is very intense and effective.

Implementing these laws is a different issue. The main instrument in carrying out the laws in any country and in any society is of course the government. But neither would I say the government has failed to implement the laws on the armed forces. It has, but only as far as its abilities and recent conditions allow. Things are very complex. Therefore, one must not think we can create especially great conditions for the armed forces while the entire population is experiencing similar difficulties. Take any region—Moscow, St. Petersburg, or some northern region. We all experience difficult times. But I would like to say that at the same time, the government and parliament are very much aware that since the armed forces are fulfilling the highest of tasks—the defense of our Fatherland—they should somehow be excluded from our difficulties. They should be independent of these social convulsions. We have found a way to allocate very significant resources—material, financial, technical, and others—so as to supply our military

people—officers, generals, and privates who work under these very difficult conditions.... [changes thought] We try to supply them with housing and allocate land to those who leave the army of their own will or due to cuts, and so on. [passage omitted]

[Rodionov] Recently there have been a lot of reports that officers are being discharged from the army as a result of political motivations. People write us saying: I expressed disagreement with this or that point of view, and have been discharged; I made a proposal, criticized the way the housing problem was being solved, and was fired; and so on. Do you think the Supreme Soviet is exercising enough control over this issue? In other words, are the cuts currently occurring in the armed forces controlled by the Supreme Soviet?

[Khasbulatov] I know of such cases, and this is absolutely not permissible. The persecution of officers for political reasons—as long as it is not against the appropriate military laws, if he just complains about housing or the poor living conditions of his family—how can you discharge such a person? Have our officers no rights at all? We have examples of such persecutions, and I think the several committees of the Supreme Soviet—such as the Committee for Legislation which is charged with the defense of the legal rights of our citizens, the Committee for Human Rights, the Committee for Defense and Security, and the Committee for Military Pensioners—all should have been more active in influencing higher ranking officers in connection with this problem. But speaking frankly, I cannot boast that all these Supreme Soviet committees perform their supervising functions to the fullest. Unfortunately, the psychology of intimidation is present even at the level of the chairmen of Supreme Soviet committee, strange as it might seem. What is more, we also have military personnel there who also want new positions and stars on their shoulder boards, and sometimes they undergo a kind of split personality—on the one hand, they are parliamentarians who strive to fulfill their duties as such; on the other hand, they are people with shoulder boards who seem to want to appease the other side. Frankly speaking, having proved that I do not cling to my job, I can speak openly as someone who knows this affair from the inside. Regretfully, in spite of the very heavy pressure I have applied to the committees and their chairmen, and in spite of my calls for complete fulfillment of the duties placed upon them by the law and by the constitution, this is fairly difficult to achieve because of a certain duality in behavior by our committee leaders who want to have their cake and eat it too. These two are mutually exclusive.

[Rodionov] Why exclusive? Does not the ministry of defense belong to our state? And what about the committees of the Supreme Soviet?

[Khasbulatov] It is the highest organ. More than that, Article 14 of the Law on Defense—you are of course familiar with it—says that the joint command of the armed forces is carried out by: first, the Supreme Soviet; second, the president; and third, the Ministry of Defense. Thus, as defined by law and the constitution, the joint command of the armed forces is placed upon the Supreme Soviet.

[Rodionov] The Supreme Soviet committee is afraid of the minister of defense.

[Khasbulatov] The committees of the Supreme Soviet do not always dare to raise the necessary questions. I do not want to cast doubt on the activity of my colleagues, but these laws we are talking about were born here and not in the Ministry of Defense or the previous government.

[Rodionov] Which is also a paradox.

[Khasbulatov] It is.

[Rodionov] They should have been the ones to propose to you...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Of course, and the same goes for other subjects too. Practically all the laws we adopt are born here. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov, Delegation Arrive in Finland

LD2102175093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1735 GMT 21 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki February 21 TASS—A Russian parliamentary delegation led by parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived in Helsinki late on Sunday [21 February] on an official visit.

The delegation includes the parliament speakers of Karelia, Udmurtia and Mordovia, the chairman of the St. Petersburg regional council and deputies of the Russian parliament.

At the airport, the delegation was met by Finnish parliament speaker Ilkka Suominen, Russian Ambassador to Finland Yuriy Deryabin and other officials.

During the four-day visit, Russian deputies will discuss the state of and prospects for inter-parliamentary relations between Russia and Finland, familiarise themselves with the work of the Finnish parliament and Finland's experience of solving ethnic minority problems.

The delegation is expected to be received by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, Prime Minister Asko Aho and Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen. It will also visit the cities of Hanko, Tammisaari and Turku.

Comments on Ties, Yeltsin

LD2102201593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1941 GMT 21 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Excerpts] Helsinki February 21 TASS—A russian parliamentary delegation led by parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived in Helsinki late on Sunday on an official visit. [passage omitted]

At an impromptu news conference at the airport, Khasbulatov said he pins big hopes on this visit.

"During the whole post-war period, we had very close and friendly relations of partnership with Finland. But as a result of big changes in our country they have slightly, I would say mostly through our fault, weakened, primarily in the economic sphere. We are proceeding from the need to solve the existing problems, taking into account that in the sphere of economic cooperation Russia and Finland are strategic and very promising partners."

"This is the first visit to Finland by a Russian parliamentary delegation headed by the speaker. Interparliamentary ties are an extremely important link for establishing deep cooperation in other spheres—in politics, economy and culture. Therefore we intend here in Helsinki to give more dynamism to inter-parliamentary cooperation between Russia and Finland and help our politicians, governments, business circles and cultural people to develop mutually beneficial cooperation," Khasbulatov said.

Commenting on his statement that there is no political fighting for power between him and President Boris Yeltsin, Khasbulatov said "I am a firm defender of the principles of parliamentarism. I believe the parliament, the legislative branch, is the basis of democracy in any state. At the cost of great losses we have reached a certain, not very high, level of democracy. We are only in the beginning of the way of establishing a democratic, civil society. And my activities are based on the need to protect the democratic maturity which we have reached."

Speaking about a referendum in Russia, Khasbulatov said that this question "should be thoroughly studied by the parliament." "I think that within ten days we will find out the people's attitude towards the referendum. If we see that people do not support the referendum, we will have to cancel it," Khasbulatov said.

Visits Finnish War Cemetery

LD2202105993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1037 GMT 22 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki February 22 TASS—Today's agenda of the Russian parliamentary delegation, led by Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, currently paying an official visit here, began with a visit to the Hietaniemi Cemetery, where many prominent Finnish political and public leaders are buried. Interred there also are Finnish officers and men, killed during the wars fought against the Soviet Union in 1939-1940 and 1941-1944. The speaker of the Russian Parliament laid a wreath at the "Heroes' Cross" in the military part of the cemetery.

Visits to the cemetery are always included in the agendas of all high-ranking foreign leaders visiting Finland. However, the numerous Soviet delegations, which visited Finland in the post-war period, avoided visiting the graves of men killed during the Second World War, because Finland and the Soviet Union were enemies then. This tradition was breached half a year ago by President Boris Yeltsin, who urged the Finns to regard the wreath he laid at the "Heroes' Cross" as a symbolic gesture of final reconciliation, putting an end to one of the most bitter chapters in the history of relations between the two countries. Today, this gesture was repeated by Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the second branch of Russia's Government—the legislative arm.

The leader of the Russian delegation met Finnish President Mauno Koivisto at the presidential palace later in the day. The sides exchanged views on the current state and prospects for Russo-Finnish relations in various areas. They stressed the reciprocal desire of Russia and Finland to promote in every possible way the development of bilateral relations.

Khasbulatov had an exhaustive talk with Prime Minister Esko Aho, which also focused on a broad range of problems linked with Russo-Finnish partnership.

A luncheon was given in honour of the Russian MPs on behalf of the First Vice-Speaker of the Finnish Parliament Saara-Maria Paakkinen.

The Russian parliamentary delegation left for a brief tour of the country today afternoon. It is to visit Hanko, Tammisari and Turku in less than 24 hours.

Says No Desire To Curb Presidential Powers

LD2202183493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Feb 93

[By unidentified correspondent from Finland; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] During the course of his visit to Finland, Ruslan Khasbulatov touched upon the issue of the April referendum. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What is the reason behind your desire to curb his powers, the president's, that is?

[Khasbulatov] I have no such desire. Now then, will you stop interrogating me? Maybe you have something relevant; after all, we are talking here in Finland.

[Correspondent] I am aware of that.

[Khasbulatov] We have not come here to discuss our internal problems. Is there anything else that you would like to know?

[Correspondent] No, I am only interested in this question, because ...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Thank you.

[Correspondent, continuing] ... because it is now being discussed in the West.

[Khasbulatov] Thank you and goodbye. [Video shows Khasbulatov standing in snow surrounded by a group of men and facing correspondent.]

Praises Meeting With Finnish Leaders

LD2202214693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2104 GMT 22 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Hanko, Finland, Febrruary 22 TASS—Russian Parliament Leader Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is visiting Finland at the head of the Russian parliamentary delegation, spoke highly of the meetings with Finnish leaders held today.

"We had good and substantive talks with President Mauno Koivisto and Prime Minister Esko Aho," Khasbulatov told ITAR-TASS. "We discussed a wide range of issues pertaining to relations between our countries. Economic ties which dwindled significantly certainly remain the central problem."

"Finnish leaders' confidence that difficulties will be overcome inspired hope in me," Khasbulatov said. "Finnish politicians proceed and justly so from the long-term nature of our links. We now have enough grounds to lend new dynamics to economic cooperation, mindful of the huge number of economic managers joining the sphere of foreign economic relations. One should also point out such a specific factor that the principles of new federalism incorporated into our country's constitution triumph in Russia.

"Karelia, the Leningrad, Murmansk and other border subjects of the Russian Federation now have enough opportunities and rights for concluding independently specific treaties in the sphere of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Our Finnish partners know all this, appreciate this and therefore see favourable prospects.

"The key task for ourselves as the parliamentary delegation is to give an impetus to inter-parliamentary communication. We are interested in learning the vast experience of parliamentarism in Finland and solutions, specifically those pertaining to the development of ethnic minorities that were amassed here," Khasbulatov added.

To Cut Visit Short

LD2202221693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In view of the fact that a joint sitting of the Supreme Soviet chambers, due to discuss measures aimed at stabilizing the constitutional order of the Russian Federation, is scheduled for 25 February, Ruslan Khasbulatov's visit to Finland will be cut short. He will return to Moscow late tomorrow evening.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Publishes Khasbulatov's Novosibirsk Speech

PM2302144193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 93 pp 1, 4

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman R.I. Khasbulatov delivered at 19 February Novosibirsk conference of leaders of organs of state, representative, and executive power of republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg: "Ruslan Khasbulatov's Speech in Novosibirsk"]

[Text] Esteemed conference participants! It is less than two weeks since our last meeting in the Russian Academy of Management. This frees me from the need to give a detailed description of the economic and political situation in the country. I will dwell only on the main problems.

Socioeconomic Situation. Central Political Problem

Even in such a short period as that since our last meeting in Moscow every Russian has felt literally and physically a manifestation of the negative trends of which you and I spoke at the last meeting. It is a fact that the country's economic situation is deteriorating, a further drop in production is occurring in the most important spheres of the economy, reproduction factors are being destroyed, and people's situation is deteriorating.

Only a few months ago price tags were changing about once a week, but today this happens practically every day. If you add to this the rapid rise in charges for transport and municipal services, then I am afraid that we are entering a new quality of our life, as it were, with dancing prices, destructive effects, and hyperinflation, about which we were also speaking, incidentally, exactly a year ago. But that time our fears were haughtily rejected: Hyperinflation was said to be a totally impossible phenomenon under conditions when "great experts" are in charge of economic reform.

It is all the more tragic that, instead of concentrating all of society's forces on saving the economy, as the Seventh Congress of Russian People's Deputies insisted, we have been forced to divert our attention to exclusively political and ideological questions which are essentially clear and have already been largely resolved.

The central problem, which has been expertly and artificially lent the nature of a conflict, is the question of the relationship between the representative power and the executive power not only at the center but also in the regions. Much has already been said repeatedly about this problem both in Cheboksary last September and at

subsequent conferences, the last time quite recently at the seminar of soviet chairmen in Moscow.

Therefore I will not analyze the situation in detail yet again. I will merely emphasize that at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies it was, all the same, possible to reach a definite compromise, albeit a temporary one, between the two branches of power and to adopt corresponding decisions. The key one was the congress decree on the stabilization of the constitutional system. Thus, the prospect of emerging from the crisis with the help of constitutional methods was outlined, and it seemed to many people at the time that it could be achieved through a referendum.

Of course, even now we must continue to work, finding mutually acceptable solutions based on the existing Russian Federation Constitution, which enshrines the principle, founded on common sense, of the separation of powers. Practice shows that this is possible and feasible.

A "round table" has been created, including representatives of the Supreme Soviet, the government, and various public movements and parties, leading scientists, production leaders and specialists, and business circles. Incidentally, the initiative in setting up this public political forum belongs to the two branches of power simultaneously: the legislature (Supreme Soviet) and the executive (government). This is a worthy example of constructive cooperation.

It is necessary to tackle the chief problem persistently—to strengthen responsibility for the fulfillment of laws, to strengthen both the representative power and the executive. The Supreme Soviet must step up its control functions. For the most important laws exist, and what is needed is elementary order, discipline, and responsibility.

We are under qualitatively new conditions. Our institutions of power are also young. Experience and traditions are needed—all this will come with time, as we eliminate the mistakes that have been made and develop positive experience. And yet positive experience also exists—particularly in the regions.

So the present situation should not be overdramatized—there are no grounds for this. We will undoubtedly find our way out of it. But again a question cannot help arising: Which forces feel the need to fuel passions, to increase the population's anxiety, and to try to see some hidden designs behind every word by the Supreme Soviet's leadership? Is it not those that would like to realize their ambitious aims by unconstitutional means on a wave of public disquiet? It is worth thinking about.

About the Referendum

There is now a lively debate over the referendum. Unfortunately, this serious problem is illumined from very simplistic positions: either "for" or "against," which political figure will lose and which will win. This is an erroneous approach, precisely because all will lose—above all, society and our fellow citizens.

I believe that we do not have among us any opponents of the referendum as a democratic form of expression of the people's will. A nationwide vote—a referendum as an institution of direct people's power—is undoubtedly of great significance for strengthening Russian statehood and creating a truly democratic society.

But I am speaking of something else today: the possible negative consequences of the 11 April referendum. We must fear them. This was spoken of at the seventh congress. It was no coincidence that the congress made an amendment to the Constitution aimed at blocking attempts at political destabilization by recourse to a referendum. It was only the acute crisis and the huge pressure on the congress that literally "extorted" its agreement to hold the referendum.

I will remind you that, in accordance with the decree of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies, the general provisions of the new Constitution, which have already largely been incorporated in the text of the existing Constitution, are being put to the referendum. It must be pointed out that a referendum has, in general, its own specific nature: It differs from elections of specific personalities. During elections of some official, even a top official, a low turnout or a shortfall in the number of votes means only a personal tragedy for the candidate. But when it is a question of a referendum and the basic principles of the Constitution, then if even one oblast or one republic does not participate in it, or if the results of the electorate's vote are negative, this means political, territorial, and national state disintegration and, essentially, the state's defeat. It is for just these reasons that we take an extremely cautious approach to the very idea of a referendum. We have discussed this problem with the president and the chairman of the Constitutional Court from these positions.

I wish to emphasize once again that the decision to hold the all-Russian referendum 11 April 1993 was regarded, at the moment of its adoption, as a factor ensuring the stabilization of the constitutional system. But the time that has elapsed since that decision was adopted, the deepening socioeconomic crisis in the country, and the growing social tension could turn the referendum from an instrument of people's power into an instrument of confrontation in society and jeopardize the Russian state's integrity. Therefore the expediency of holding it gives rise to great doubts both among statesmen at various levels and among representatives of various political parties, as confirmed at the "round table," and also among ordinary citizens in very diverse parts of Russia.

Even without a referendum we have managed during the preceding period to make amendments to the existing Constitution which render the Fundamental Law really democratic: the principle of private ownership, the separation of powers, human rights that are universally

recognized in the modern world. We have ensured the independence of the judicial and law-enforcement system—at any rate, we have proclaimed it constitutionally. We have approved the principles of federalism. True, there are two important points which have been included in the questions for the referendum and which have not yet been reflected in the existing Constitution. These are the constituting of the president as head of state, and not just head of the executive, and the question of the fate of the Congress of People's Deputies.

If we hold the referendum, we ought to decide which questions to include in it. Let us ask ourselves: Are the proposed questions sufficient, and what is their quality like? Will we attract the voters with them? Apparently not.

In actual fact, there really are acute problems which worry Russia's citizens today and on which we must ask their opinion. This is why the Supreme Soviet Presidium supported the idea of a 12th question: about the population's attitude toward simultaneous early elections of the federal president and of federal deputies no later than the spring of 1994. At the same time it is not obligatory to link this question to the referendum—the Congress of People's Deputies can adopt a decision on it. There are definite legal grounds for this. Both the president and the people's deputies of Russia were elected under the identical conditions of a far from democratic state. Further, you will agree that we were operating under specific conditions at the time of the elections both of the deputies and of the president: Russia was a republic belonging to the vast Union state, i.e. we were virtually elected deputies of an autonomous entity, and we elected the president of an autonomous republic, not of a world power. The population and the political elite of society perceived the elections in Russia at that time in conformity with this. The voter proceeded from such positions in the belief that there was still the Union power and, if they made a mistake at the Russian level, there was someone to rectify it.

The situation now is totally different. On the basis of his experience of our rule over the past period the voter will certainly be able to make an objective assessment of our post-Union activity, when no one has hindered us.

I would also like to remind you that, when we were performing our legislative activity and adopting laws, particularly the Law on the President, we held very strong anticentrist views. Under their influence we disproportionally expanded the sphere of executive activity, particularly of the president, investing him with truly super powers to strengthen his role in the confrontation with the not very sensible actions, as it seemed to us at the time, of the Union executive power. These distortions must also be straightened out.

New persons, new leaders have now appeared on the political Olympus. The population has become politically mature. The former leaders who made a name for themselves by criticizing everything and everyone and campaigning for the destruction of the totalitarian system have faded. Everything has been demolished almost to its foundations. There is nothing more to destroy. The destroyers must vanish into the past.

Creators are needed now. These have already appeared. Let the voter make his own choice. It is not worth clinging to power. People who are out of the ordinary have grown up—many of them are among you. The role in political life of the subjects of the federation and of their leaders has been strengthened significantly. There are people to choose from. It seems to me that these democratic aspirations of the voters must be supported.

Therefore the question of our adopting the decision on early elections and holding these elections simultaneously—both of the president and of federal deputies—arises objectively, and no later than the spring of 1994. But even this seems not to be enough. At the last Supreme Soviet Presidium session I proposed for discussion another way of putting the question in the referendum—for a second voting paper.

These questions, incidentally, are also close and were essentially formulated by the president himself at the Seventh Congress 10 December—on confidence in all the powers, including the federal government. I assure you that there is just one aim here and no ulterior motives. The chief thing, if the referendum is held, is to prevent it from being wrecked and to involve the voter in the adoption of a crucial state decision. Then the referendum will not be a political game or a formality. Then it would be hard to reproach us with "fearing our own people." But, I repeat, I cite all these questions and arguments only in case the decision to cancel the referendum is not adopted. But essentially—I repeat again—we have no need of any referenda or elections today. In the current year of 1993 all efforts must be utilized in the sphere of economic reform.

A few comments on the questions on the Constitution being put to the referendum. Quite frankly, I cannot understand why people criticize the Constitutional Commission's working group which proposed a set of 11 questions approved by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. In my opinion, it did everything in full accordance with the congress decisions, according to which the main provisions of the new Constitution are being put to the referendum. Judge for yourselves: How can we limit ourselves here to one, two, or three questions? In the final analysis the total number could also be reduced, let us say, to eight.

As regards the specific wordings proposed by the Constitutional Commission working group, I believe that in the process of discussing them, until approved by the Supreme Soviet, we should hardly expect major changes either on the part of parliamentary committees or on the president's part. General principles and general provisions—these are general. How can you get away from this?

True, the paradox consists in this fact, which is clear to many people: The main principles and the general provisions of the future Constitution have already been included in the existing one. The majority of the new Constitution is already working.

Thus, we want to ask the people's opinion of questions that have already been decided. A very curious situation. This is something that opponents of the top representative power—actually, opponents of democracy—strive "not to notice." It is they who create dubious edicts and directives of federal organs of power and management that are not underpinned by the force of law.

How else can one regard such actions, other than as a desire to usurp power by any means both from the congress and from the Supreme Soviet and even from the federal government?

Fate of New Constitution

We frequently hear the charge that the Supreme Soviet and the congress are incapable of adopting the new Constitution, that they are in an impasse. We are told that an uchredilovka [colloquial term for constituent assembly] is needed.

That is wrong. The practice of preparing the general provisions of the new Constitution showed—I noticed this—an amazing result: It turned out that most of the new Constitution has already been adopted! So where is the impasse? Where is the crisis?

There is a crisis, however. But the crisis lies, first, in the dualism of the executive, not in the activity of the congress and the Supreme Soviet. Second, efforts are being made to create a constitutional crisis by those who find themselves outsiders in politics because of the failure of their activity at various levels of power. These are certain well-known and unknown dabblers in politics on a Union, federal, and provincial scale. It is they who want to promote themselves to some superlegislative organ—a constituent assembly and a constitutional assembly—and, again, to saddle the power with unconstitutional methods. They are nauseated by the lawful, thorough, conscientious activity of deputies at various levels and of representative and executive organs of power and management in the regions. The worse things are, the better—this is their motto.

Today's reality is such that the sociopolitical, economic, and even the sociopsychological situation is preventing the elaboration of the new Constitution and, in particular, its adoption in the very near future. There are many reasons for this.

Society has not formed the established economic, political, social, and spiritual foundations, supported by the entire people, which the new Constitution could enshrine. The sense of great loss following the demise of the Union plunged public awareness into a state of shock, while the unsuccessful implementation of the economic reforms renders a person defenseless and increases his alienation from power to no less a degree than during the time of the Communist Party's supremacy. Indifference, apathy, and hostility toward power are not the best state for society to be in when it comes to shaping constitutional tasks.

What must the new Constitution enshrine under the present conditions? The new Constitution must enshrine what already exists and has been established, not wishes and promises, nor all kinds of myths from political dreamers.

Not one of the existing parties or those that are being formed even has fixed political views and political programs. What they do have is, rather, rough drafts that are suitable for tactics or tactical games, for small-scale politics or political intriguing.

Society has not matured in its movement toward adopting the new Constitution as a single act, rather it is trying to save itself and survive.

Nor are there any political parties underpinned by broad social strata. There is no real political struggle among the parties within the framework of the law and democratic traditions. Consequently, the new Constitution will not now be the result of a political struggle among integral political programs—it does not rest upon a civil society. It should not be considered a tragedy if the adoption of the new Constitution is left to those who will come after us. Our task is to preserve the attained level of democratic maturity and to move along the path of real political reform, shaping a civil society, making amendments to the Constitution slowly, step by step, and laying the juridical foundations of true, not illusory democracy, i.e. democracy which has at its center the citizen and the person, and not a struggle of political bigwigs, nouveaux riches, and latter-day "saviors," for whom people are only tools of their ambitious aspirations to a regime of personal power.

Therefore this year must be a year of economic transformations and a year of preparation for new elections at the start of 1994.

In the event of achieving social accord on these questions, the political parties will have a specific subject for debate in the elections. The candidates will be able to oppose each other not with the help of empty appeals, although these will exist, but with integral political and economic programs geared to the foundations of the future constitutional system.

This will be a really creative political struggle. Genuine political programs will arise out of it.

Accordingly, our task now is to create several laws which will formulate the new suffrage and the electoral system for parliament and the president and, very importantly, will put in order the existing Constitution for the purpose of eliminating the dualism of executive power. The rest will be up to the new corps of deputies.

So, it is not the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies that are in crisis, but those political forces which do not know how to use power and which, not knowing this, seek to secure new powers for themselves. This happened once before in our recent history and had tragic consequences. The crisis must be resolved not by means of political surgery, which has unequivocally negative consequences, but with the help of gradual constitutional changes and the elimination of the fatal mistakes made by the pioneering teams—pioneering both in their economic theories and in their all-destroying practical work.

It is certainly not the legislative power that is in an impasse, for it is working at this very minute, adopting laws that society needs, but those who are feverishly seeking "options for a winning strategy" and seeking enemies—"reds," "browns," "greens," "whites," and everyone whom they could blame for the consequences of failed experiments. They are as afraid to run for early reelection as they fear the plague.

Problems of Congress of People's Deputies in Political Struggle

Over the past two and one-half years not one organ of power has been subjected to such scathing criticism as the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies. Let us investigate the reason for this. In accordance with Article 104, Chapter 13 of the Russian Federation Constitution, "the highest organ of state power of the Russian Federation is the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies. The Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies is empowered to accept for consideration and to resolve any question within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation."

This means that there is no organ of power in the country higher than the congress. Subordinate to the congress are the president, the Supreme Soviet, the government, and, of course, all officials—in the Armed Forces, in security and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] organs, etc. I would like to remind everyone of this, including all officials of the Russian Federation.

Hence, opponents of the congress constantly refer to a "violation" of the principle of the separation of powers and demand the elimination of this "violation." All these years I, too, was a supporter of reediting this article in favor of a wording defining the congress as the "highest representative power." But this question, too, is not as simple as it outwardly seems.

We have experience of seven Congresses of People's Deputies. For all their noisiness, and frequently also the fruitless debates, all these congresses have consistently consolidated the democratic transformations in the federation and always found a common language with the executive. Their decisions have been distinguished by specificity and high exactingness. The congress introduced the presidency despite resistance from the Union bureaucracy, legitimated for the first time the principle of private ownership, constituted the citizen's political, social, and economic freedoms, introduced the concept of the separation of powers into the constitution, and supported the innovative ideas of the economic reforms.

At the same time the congress did not once use or even attempt to use its own omnipotence. It commissioned the Supreme Soviet and the president with implementing the tasks defined by it. But the whole trouble is that these commissions remain unfulfilled either owing to the lack of ability to fulfill them or owing to reluctance. Hence opponents of the congress are becoming increasingly fearful of the omnipotent highest legislative and representative organ: What if it should suddenly wish to exercise its constitutional rights in full?

This is the reason for the furious badgering of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Unfortunately, the abruptly changed sociopolitical situation is not noticed: Under conditions of the sharp drop in the authority of the federal powers and the increasing disintegration of the federation, the significance of the congress is increasing rapidly as the only power organ capable of rising above narrow party and personal interests and which is increasingly becoming a strong factor of sociopolitical stabilization.

Therefore, first, today there cannot even be any question of changing the status of the Congress as the highest organ of power in the country. Second—maybe I am repeating myself, but never mind—all officials in the Russian Federation, all public movements, and all citizens must know that, in accordance with the Constitution to which the president swore loyalty on taking up this post, the Congress of People's Deputies is the highest power in the country. Third, at the next congress it is necessary to really strengthen the Supreme Soviet by recalling from it deputies who are not members of the Supreme Soviet and who hinder its work, and to elect worthy people who can work on a permanent basis, possibly increasing the size of the Supreme Soviet. Fourth, the entire federal corps of deputies must prepare for elections simultaneously with the president in the spring of 1994.

The central question which will be of concern to our fellow citizens and the public is the question of the integrated institution "Congress-Supreme Soviet" in the future election campaign. It seems to me that there is just one constitutional way to resolve this problem—a way which, first, will strengthen the principle of the separation of power and, second, does not run the risk of weakening it or upsetting the balance.

First, when the congress adopts the decision to schedule the simultaneous election of the federal deputies and of the president, it must make corresponding amendments to the Constitution.

Second, the congress entrusts the Supreme Soviet with preparing and adopting a whole number of laws, including a law on elections based on the adopted amendments to the Constitution.

What sort of amendments to the Constitution?

In a very general form, they could be as follows: The country's highest representative and legislative organ is the bicameral Supreme Soviet—a parliament with 500-550-600 deputies; this will cause the "two-level" structure to disappear, and the principle of the separation of power will be realized in full.

The president is the head of state (under the existing Constitution he is not). The president retains many rights of various kinds, including the right to choose the candidacy for the head of government, which he submits to the federal parliament. After approval of this candidacy the head of government independently forms the government and submits it for approval to the full federal parliament. Of course, the government is accountable exclusively to parliament alone. Thus, society will have a responsible and plenipotentiary government.

As a result, the principle of the separation of powers triumphs, the dualism of the executive disappears, and the disproportions in relations between the legislature and the executive are eliminated. The foundations of the permanent crisis between them thereby disappear, i.e. the constitutional crisis is overcome. Although there will always be contradictions, as they are inevitable, they will be surmounted without crises or tension in society.

In fact, the constitutional agreement which is being spoken of so much could—if it happens, of course—include the points I have set forth here. A more serious attitude must be taken toward this question, without attempts to create an outward effect and false expectations.

Reforms and Regional Policy

Our conference is taking place in Siberia in a special region whose enormous potential is still waiting to be effectively incorporated in market mechanisms.

How quickly we can do this depends to a large extent on the elaboration of a plan for the implementation of the Federation Treaty, as also, however, on the attitude of all the subjects of the Federation.

The past year has shown another negative result: Without the serious economic independence of the regions the federal center is powerless to implement large-scale reforms. After all, the directive mentality has disappeared. Interest has appeared. The realization of that interest presupposes a considerable degree of autonomy. This has been said a number of times, the first time back in December 1991 in Khabarovsk—the participants in the "Siberian Agreement" will remember that, I think.

In practice everything has turned out differently: 1992 passed without any account being taken of the regional aspects of the reform. As a result the problem has become worse, and many questions have arisen which need consideration and the adoption of coordinated measures and actions.

It has become obvious to everyone now that the center of gravity of the reforms must be switched to the regions. This is an objective necessity and is due to a number of circumstances.

First and foremost, the main set of laws to control the course of the reform has been adopted. Now it is a question of the practical work to apply those laws, that is, the work which must take place at local level and in labor collectives.

Furthermore, there have been major changes in cadre composition. People at the local level already know what to do and how to do it. It is also important that in conditions where vertical ties have virtually been destroyed, coordinating roles must be transferred to the regional authorities to an even greater extent (more so than a year ago).

All this suggests that we must adopt practical steps to strengthen the reforms locally.

Number one. It is now necessary to clearly define the reciprocal financial relations between the republics, krays, and oblasts and the federal budget. We must recognize that the old ways—requests and distribution—have been preserved in these reciprocal relations. This is what happens in the formation of the budget and the division of tax revenue. This is what happens in the allocation of credit resources—everything goes to the Central Bank.

But we cannot go on living like this. It is necessary to establish clear and intelligent financial relations between the Center and the localities. After all, we know how to do this. There is the world's experience. Definite efforts, persistence, and responsibility are needed.

Number two. There must be an especially thorough investigation of the course of privatization. The Supreme Soviet is now examining the 1993 privatization program. The process is under way. But privatization has had virtually no effect on the stabilization of the economy so far. Privatization is tearing economic ties apart. Production efficiency in this process has been reduced to secondary importance or even less. There are many reasons for that. The most important one is that the regions were left to one side. Everything is unduly centralized. I think that privatization should not be halted but should be examined thoroughly, first and foremost by the leaders of local soviets and the heads of administrations.

Number three. The establishment of control over the execution of laws at the regional level is of special importance. We are all marking time here. This problem must be discussed.

There is one more point. Today many oblasts and rayons have accumulated good experience in the implementation of the reform. We must generalize their experience and prepare recommendations for the regions. Perhaps we should ask scientists of the Russian Academy of Sciences Siberian Department to tackle this responsible state work and prepare the corresponding document for the Supreme Soviet's examination. We are ready to take part in financing this important problem.

Man and the Reforms

The crisis state of the economy has raised particularly acutely the question of saving the Russian genetic pool and of man's survival in the new conditions. We, to our shame, have already in some ways become accustomed to the fact that the new conditions have brought man to the brink of extinction and of degradation. Such a price for the reforms is unacceptable.

It is not only a question of people's material situation, which is sharply deteriorating. The individual has become increasingly unprotected against administrations of various levels, in the stores, and in the services system.

In fact people are being dismissed from their jobs on insufficient grounds; they are even being dismissed from military service, pay is not being increased, there are no medicines, medical treatment is bad, and doctors themselves cannot make ends meet. Where do you go to complain? When you are insulted in the store, the clothes store, or elsewhere—to whom do you turn? People are depressed and irritated. This is the sphere of activity of the representative and executive organs of power at all levels and especially at local level. The work of children's institutions, schools, hospitals, and the law-enforcement organs must be kept under daily supervision. A system of protection of the individual must be created. The weak must be supported and people must be organized for mutual aid. The soviets as representative organs and the local administrations must be answerable for this.

Incidentally, it is already well known that, given a serious attitude toward work, the conflicts between the soviets and the administrations fade away. They only flare up when people set out to inflame them. That is how things are at all levels of power when the problem of the individual disappears and the insatiable desire to bring someone down becomes an aim in itself. There must be a stop to this. The Constitution exists, be it good or bad, as do the laws —they must be fulfilled and there must be no attempt to divert public opinion from the real problems.

In conditions of constraints on the resources for general state programs for the creation of the social and cultural infrastructure, it is important that the task of supporting the individual be assumed by the regions. Regional and local municipal programs must combine the resources of enterprises and the new entrepreneurship, budget sources—including the introduction of special local taxes—and the resources of local church charities, and use them to ease the difficulties of the transitional period. I believe that our conference must express its view on these questions.

For the first time in the practice of staging conferences, and thanks to the initiative of our hospitable hosts, virtually all those present here were able yesterday, that is before this meeting began, to visit 17 enterprises in Novosibirsk, including the V.P. Chkalov Aviation Production Association, the "Sibselmash," "Novosibirskmebel," and "Elektroagregat" Associations, a cotton combine, the "Kirovets" Heating Combine, and others.

I think that this will help us to better understand the problems and concerns of Novosibirsk people, to compare them with the situation in our own regions, and consequently to conduct today's exchange of opinions with a greater sense of direction and productive benefit.

In conclusion, I should like to stress once more that in the prevailing difficult conditions we need to achieve accord by peaceful and honest means. We must do everything to ensure the democratic development of our society and prevent the slide into authoritarian rule or into any of the methods typical of a state of emergency. Accord and democracy are what are needed to ensure the prosperity of society and to preserve civil peace.

Further on Novosibirsk Speech

PM2302143993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 93 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "R. Khasbulatov Warns of Threat of Dictatorship of Democrats and Urges Local Soviets To Take Control of Law Enforcement Organs"]

[Text] Speaking in Novosibirsk's Akademgorodok, the politician, memorable for saying that no greater democrat than himself has ever been born, in fact made it clear that henceforth he should not be regarded as a democrat. "I cannot understand the democrats," R. Khasbulatov complained to the scientists. "They are doing everything to form a neototalitarian political structure. It has already been created."

Thus dissociating himself from his former fellow-thinkers the head of parliament repeatedly intimidated the audience with the threat of a dictatorship. "Unless we support the soviets there will be a dictatorship," he stressed particularly at the end of his speech.

Actually, the parliament speaker believes we should not panic since the congress—"the only real force which can keep all the powers in check"—serves as a reliable obstacle to the dictatorship of the democrats. By keeping the powers in check, R. Khasbulatov to all appearances intends to counter the threat of totalitarianism.

It is not entirely clear where this threat could really come from but the fact that the "checking" process is close to completion was shown quite clearly by the Novosibirsk conference. Its main result should be considered the statement signed by virtually all participants in the

conference, which contains a an appeal to repeal the referendum, convene an extraordinary congress, and declare 1993 the year of economic stabilization. Essentially the statement expresses full support for the solution of the constitutional crisis in accordance with "Khasbulatov's concept." It looks as though it will be futile to continue the elaboration of a constitutional agreement after that.

R. Khasbulatov despite the doubts of several participants in the conference insisted that this document be adopted. Now he can state officially that his position enjoys the full support not only of the leaders of all Russian soviets but also of the administration heads—although there were few actual administration heads at the conference. This result of the conference is undoubtedly a very important trump card for R. Khasbulatov in his fight with B. Yeltsin.

The loyalty of the regional soviets' leaders was generously encouraged. R. Khasbulatov told them that since the seventh congress adopted a decision on the compulsory confirmation of the nominations of the "power" ministers, the leaders of the regional security and internal affairs administrations should also be appointed only with the soviets' consent. The support of the congress and Supreme Soviet here was guaranteed. Thus perhaps the last vertical chain of executive power enabling the center to control the situation in the regions is under serious threat. The leaders of the regional security and internal affairs administrations lose their independence from the local authorities. There can be no doubt that this step will intensify the disintegration processes in Russia. Just as there can be no doubt that it is more convenient for the heads of the local soviets to have the law enforcement organs "in their pocket."

R. Khasbulatov also urged the heads of the soviets to be more vigorous in expelling the president's representatives—depriving them of wages, transport, and premises. As a result executive power is being deprived of virtually all levers of influence and control locally. It is being deprived of the vestiges of power. All power is being transferred to the soviets.

Thus to talk about the need to observe the principle of the separation of powers in Russia the formation is being completed of a single power structure including only the congress and parliament which, to judge by R. Khasbulatov's words, will keep everything "in check."

Bidding farewell to the conference participants before they went their separate ways, V. Syrovatko, secretary of the Supreme Soviet, gave the final instructions: When they arrived home they should immediately register by telephone at the parliament organizational administration and direct the local press to print R. Khasbulatov's speech.

Supreme Soviet 18-19 Feb Proceedings Summarized

MK2302111093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 93 p 2

[Ivan Rodin report: "The Deputies Worked Fruitfully"]

[Text] Just before the 18 February Supreme Soviet session wound up, General Procurator Valentin Stepankov reported to it on how far Mikhail Poltoranin's claims about Ruslan Khasbulatov's preparing a coup d'etat corresponded to the truth. The claim had been made in an interview to the Italian newspaper L'UNITA. The procuracy had looked into the matter at the request of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies. The investigation revealed that the speaker had not been preparing a coup d'etat, and the deputies therefore wanted to know to what degree Mr. Poltoranin would be made answerable for his words. According to the procurator, Mr. Poltoranin maintains that the interviewer had put completely the wrong stress on what he had said, while the interviewer insists that he distorted nothing. Parliament was invited to bring a civil action in this connection. Valentin Stepankov also said that he signed an order on 5 February bringing criminal proceedings against journalist Andrey Cherkizov for his commentary broadcast on Ekho Moskvy radio in December. Cherkizov was reviewing a book written by the Supreme Soviet speaker, and described it in extremely biased terms. Mr. Cherkizov (Semenov) is now general director of the Russian Intellectual Property Agency, and he will soon be taking part in a parliamentary discussion of the law "On Copyright and Associated Rights" as an official representative of the president.

Having had their fill of talking the day before, the Supreme Soviet passed on 19 February, without long debate, a law "On State Protection for the Supreme Bodies of Power," whereby each branch of power becomes entitled to have its own guard force. The law on a guard force for the Supreme Soviet proper passed its first reading, and soon to be submitted is a law on a guard for the president. The Supreme Soviet also approved legislation on guarantees and compensations for people living in the Far North, on the state border of the Russian Federation, and on federal bodies of the government communications system. It took the deputies a little longer to discuss a decree permitting the issue of short-term couponless state bonds. This may have been because of the deputies' deep-rooted lack of trust in all government proposals. After a Russian Central Bank representative said that the idea had been the fruit of much labors by the Central Bank, however, everything went smoothly.

Parliament Begins Hearings on Regional Policies

OW2202133693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1114 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian parliament's Council [as received] of Nationalities, Ramazan Abdulatipov, stated that there are certain dangerous tendencies in the federal authorities' regional policies. During the parliamentary hearings on Russia's integrity and regional policies, he said that although the federal authorities pursued the policy of super-centralization in relation to the regions, Russia was falling apart as an integral state. Some of the republics have announced their plans to secede from Russia, he said.

Moreover, the statement on the establishment of a Siberian republic was made recently, he added.

He also criticized the federal government's credit policy in relation to the territories. "We have extended the territories loans worth millions of rubles, but do not know how they were used," he said. In his opinion, instead of being invested in economic programs, that money was used for other needs.

Deputy Premier Announces Nationalities Policy Theses

MK2302144893 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Feb 93 p 2

[Ivan Rodin report: "Discord Among Moscow Authorities—Main Threat for the Federation"]

[Text] "It should be understood that since the Federation Treaty was signed, we have been living in a different country," Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities, said on 22 February as he opened parliamentary hearings entitled "The Integrity of the Russian Federation and Regional Policies." Mr. Abdulatipov said that he did not see any real regional policy because the Federation Treaty, in his view, had reconciled only political differences and established vertical relations, whereas now horizontal ties need to be forged, and legal and economic problems solved.

The next speaker, Sergey Glazyev, minister of foreign economic relations, was mildly critical of the foreign economic activity pursued by some subjects of the federation, such as their attempts to obtain foreign credits by pledging natural resources. Currently, a draft law on the division of powers between his ministry and members of the Russian Federation is being drawn up, the minister said. Mr. Glazyev added that the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry had no objections to being converted into a kind of a "union-republican" structure consisting of a central office, corresponding republican ministries, and kray and oblast administrations. First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin was much cooler in his assessment of the foreign economic activity of the Russian Federation's subjects. As long as Russian trade missions are located at its embassies, he said, he would oppose the establishment of republican and regional mission in them.

Sergey Shakhray announced 11 national policy theses that had been drawn up by his committee. The theses are designed to turn Russia's multiethnic character from a potential drawback into a factor securing its strength and integrity.

The first thesis is "equal rights for all peoples of the Russian Federation." Mr. Shakhray added that we should not be embarrassed to say that the situation in the country will directly depend on how the Russian people feel.

Second, "recognition of the right to self-determination, and the revival and development of peoples, coupled with the protection of individuals' rights throughout the territory of Russia."

Third, "federalism."

Fourth, "the territorial unity and integrity of the Russian Federation and its subjects."

Fifth, "the depolitization of the nationalities policy."

Sixth, "reliance on lawfully elected authorities, whether the center likes them or not."

Seventh, "the unconditional priority of political methods of conflict solving."

Eighth, "the continuity of economic policies." The deputy prime minister believes that it is the economy that has so far cemented the country's territorial integrity. Now it is necessary to go over from subsidies and subventions, which are in a way humiliating for regions, to regional programs. They will be implemented by five regional centers, the first of which—the North Caucasian one—has already been set up.

Ninth, "a nationalities policy that is fast-moving and proactive in nature."

Tenth, the principle of consistency and "small steps."

Eleventh, "it is necessary to take into account the complexity of Russia's religious makeup."

Sergey Shakhray said in conclusion that the main threat to Russia's territorial integrity comes from "the feud between the Moscow authorities." He then went on to discuss the problems of the referendum and the constitutional agreement.

Government To Issue State Short-Term Bond Loans

LD2302182493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0525 GMT 23 Feb 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has permitted the Russian Government to float loans of 650 billion rubles [R] by means of issuing state short-term bonds, not backed by coupons. It is planned to issue

the bonds in separate releases once a month. According to the Central Bank of Russia, if the return on these securities is more than 80 percent of the annual income, then 18 commercial banks are prepared to subscribe to a loan of R1 billion.

Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet termed the loan the first civilized experiment in taking a loan with the help of securities.

Regional Affairs

Russian Troops on State of 'Extra-Alert' in North Ossetia

LD2202175493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 22 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz February 22 TASS—Due to the beginning of the Ingush people's day of repression and the forthcoming February 28 presidential elections in the Republic of Ingushetia, the operations and investigation group and troops of the Russian Ministry of the Interior have been put in a state of extra-alert and to intensify their vigil, the headquarters of the temporary administration told ITAR-TASS.

Units and subdivisions of the joint forces and the Russian Ministry of the Interior troops continue to carry out their duty to ensure observance of the state of emergency rules and regulations. According to military assesment, the crime situation in Northern Ossetia and Ingushetia is not improving.

So far 56 persons have been detained, and 13 criminal cases and incidents have been registered for violating the curfew order. Over four thousand automobiles have been searched. Dozens of fire arms, hand grenades, explosive devices and two wireless have been confiscated from local residents.

Talks on Ingushetia, North Ossetia To Resume 2 Mar

LD2302142993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] In the White House, Anatoliy Anikiyev, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities' commission on repressed and deported peoples, has made a statement. Our parliamentary correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov reports:

[Osipov] In Kislovodsk, in accordance with the decision of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, talks are taking place between official delegations of the Ingush Republic and North Ossetia on peaceful settlement of the armed conflict between Ingushetia and North Ossetia and surmounting the effects of this. Intermediaries are taking part from the republic of Dagestan and Stavropol Kray. A number of important agreements have been reached. However, reports have been appearing lately in some of the mass media on the cessation of these talks. In this connection Anikiyev made the following statement:

[Begin Anikiyev recording] At present work is under way on specific accords and the machinery for disarming the illegal armed formations and machinery is being worked on for the return of refugees to their permanent homes. In connection with the large volume of work to be done by experts and also the need for members of the delegation from the Ingush Republic to take part in the preparation for and holding of the election of the first president of Ingushetia, planned for 28 February, the next plenary session of the delegations at the Ingush-Ossetian talks has been postponed from 26 February to 2 March this year.

Moreover, all those taking part in the talks have affirmed their support for the talks process, the protocol of intent which has been adopted and other agreements which have been reached and stressed the need for an accord to be worked out on the whole range of problems. [end recordindg]

[Osipov] Anikiyev added to this that a law on the small peoples in the Russian Federation is soon to be submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet. It, as the head of the commission noted, will deal with the resettlement of the Germans. It is thought that they are to be offered resettlement in abandoned settlements in the European part of Russia as well as in the Volga area. Written agreement has to be reached on this matter with the leaders of the oblasts and regions being offered to the Germans for resettlement, Anikiyev said.

North Ossetian Deputy Calls For Creation of Ingush Region

OW2302184193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Petr Jusoyev, a North Ossetian parliamentary deputy, has called for an Ingush region to be set up within the republic of North Ossetia. He told Interfax Tuesday [23 February] that he ruled out any possibility of Ingush refugees returning to their permanent abodes in the Prigorodnyy region because, according to the laws of the mountains, "those drawn into bloody vengeance are unable to live side by side since this would prolong the bloodshed for years to come."

Jusoyev said that part of the territory of the Prigorodnyy region which bordered Ingushetia should be allocated to the Ingush refugees for them to live there. This territory, however, would remain part of North Ossetia.

Meanwhile Ruslan Aushev, who was in Ingushetia, spoke in favor of returning all refugees to the Prigorodnyy region and introducing federal government there. In a speech in Nazran on Tuesday at his first meeting

with voters he said that the Ingush had become "hostages of Russian policy in North Ossetia."

Ruslan Aushev Urges Ingushes To Work for Statehood

OW2302183893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1654 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Major General Ruslan Aushev, the sole candidate in the presidential election scheduled in Ingushetia for February 28, called for joint work leading to Ingush statehood.

At an electoral meeting in Nazran on Tuesday [23 February] he confirmed that he will press for more vigorous search for hostages and persons reported missing during the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, return of Ingush refugees to where they used to live in Suburban District of North Ossetia, imposition of federal rule there, and withdrawal of Russian troops from Ingushetia.

In his view, settlement of the conflict must be negotiated not between Ingush and Chechens but between Russia and North Ossetia which must discuss implementation of resolutions of the Seventh Congress of Russia's People's Deputies on repatriation of the refugees.

Chechen Parliament Nullifies Dudayev Representative Power

LD2202223093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] A resolution of the Chechen Parliament today abolished the institution of General Dudayev's local level representatives, reports NEGA from Groznyy. The same document transfers all executive authority in the regions to a coordinating council of the heads of local administrations. This measure will facilitate a move away from duality of power at the local level and the stabilizing of the situation in the republic, states the resolution of the Chechen Parliament.

Moscow Soviet Postpones Mayoral Election Indefinitely

MK2302135793 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 23 Feb 93 p 1

[Report from Moscow City Soviet session by Pavel Zakharov: "Collected for the Election of the Mayor...55 Rubles"]

[Text] It was clear a few weeks ago even to the most stubborn deputies advocating the holding of an election for the head of the Moscow city administration that the election would not take place on 28 February.

This was confirmed at yesterday's sitting of the Moscow City Soviet session by V. Chernetskiy, chairman of the district electoral commission. He also announced that the account set up to finance the election had received...55 rubles.

But the debate about the election still went on almost all day. Moscow City Soviet Chairman N. Gonchar joined in. He read an appeal by the Moscow branch of the Civic Union. It contained a call for the cancellation of the election set for 28 February. The appeal angered deputies.

Six draft decisions were presented. In the end, they settled for one and adopted it as a basis for action. In accordance with this draft, the Moscow City Soviet decision setting the election for 28 February was canceled.

But no new date was named. When it came to the vote, it turned out that there was no longer a quorum and any decision on the matter would have been unlawful.

Events concerning the election could develop as follows. The district commission has the right to declare the election set for 28 February null and void and fix a new date.

Maritime Kray Administration Head Visits Moscow

OW2402083093 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Networks in Russian 0815 GMT 20 Feb 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" feature]

[Text] Vladimir Kuznetsov, the head of Maritime Kray administration, participated in the Moscow conference of heads of Russian administrations, and returned home this week. Speaking in front of the government on the question of regional policy, he noted that more rights should be given locally while taking the specific conditions of krays and oblasts into account. President Yeltsin supported this idea.

A group of experts has been formed in the government, and it will occupy itself with the questions of regional policy. The Supreme Soviet and the council of ministers will examine the law on Maritime Kray status in the near future.

Commenting on governmental decree on the gradual ban in the country on use of right hand drive cars, Kuznetsov was told in the capital that the decree will be changed in case of Far East residents.

Criminal Proceedings Against Rostov Representative

PM2402103993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 93 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir But: "Criminal Proceedings Against President's Representative"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—The Russian Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings against Vladimir Zubkov, the Russian president's representative in Rostov Oblast.

He is charged with kindling interethnic hostility and calling for the overthrow of the constitutional system.

The charge is based on Vladimir Zubkov's statements at a meeting with representatives of the Cossacks on the eve of last year's October celebrations. A memorandum prepared at the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies (it has been submitted to the investigation) says that the president's representative urged the Cossacks to oppose "the march of the reds" (the authorized October meeting and demonstration) and "show them that this is their last demonstration, that their power has ended. The red flags and posters must be removed and force must be used boldly for the purpose..." The following statements by V. Zubkov are also cited: "Wogs have ruled Russia long enough," "Khasik's (R. Khasbulatov's) days are numbered, he will soon be thrown out..." and so forth.

The Russian Prosecutor's Office has assigned this case to an investigator from neighboring Krasnodar Kray, who has arrived in Rostov.

International Affairs

Zlenko, Russia's Kozyrev Seek To Improve Bilateral Ties

LD2302194693 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] A telephone conversation between Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev took place today. The issue of the present state of bilateral relations was discussed. The ministers spoke for an orientation to their improvement in the interests of the people of both countries.

Kiev Likely To Appeal to The Hague on Property Division

OW2302175193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine is likely to appeal to the International Court in The Hague with a request to arbitrate in its argument with Russian regarding the assets and liabilities of the former Soviet Union. Chief of the Ukrainian MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] legal department Aleksandr Kupchishin made this announcement at a press conference in the Ukrainian foreign ministry in Kiev on February 23.

In his words, the Ukrainian MFA is currently devising a legal mechanism for addressing this problem, preparing the documents which would be required for the International Court to consider the issue of Ukraine's dispute with Russia. In the opinion of Mr Kupchishin, all the legal resources for resolving the problem of the assets and liabilities of the former Soviet Union in Ukraine's bilateral intercourse with Russia have been exhausted. He characterized Russia's position at the talks on the former USSR assets and liabilities as "beyond the limits of common sense."

The Russian side, he says, has given up its original "zero option", replacing it by the so-called "minus option" which denies Ukraine any assets of the former Soviet Union, committing it to repaying 16.37% of Russia's foreign debt. Mr Kupchishin said this option is "ultimately inacceptable for Ukraine."

On February 22, the Ukrainian MFA circulated its note among 160 countries throughout the world, voicing its disagreement with Russia's assuming upon itself all the rights to the former USSR real estate and other property abroad. The Ukrainian MFA is appealing to all the governments of the international community to, asking them not to change the legal status of the property of the former Soviet Union until the issue of its division has been resolved.

Prime Minister Comments on Russian Gas Supply

OW2302211693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Immediately after finishing his Central Asian tour, Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma plans to go to Moscow Friday [26 February] for negotiations with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on issues regarding the supply of Russian gas.

In an interview on Ukrainian radio Tuesday Kuchma pointed out that the decision of the Russian Gazprom to stop supplying Ukraine with oil on February 25 was just the decision of the large concern, not a government choice. "This is too mild of a development to warrant an official reaction from the Ukrainian government," said the prime minister.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian Vice Premier Vasiliy Yevtukhov believes Gazprom's plans to cut off gas supplies to Ukraine are motivated by political, rather than economic, considerations.

This is shown, he said, by the information published in Moscow's Izvyestia on February 23 on Russia's plans to get back their military bases in the Crimea by putting economic pressure on Ukraine.

In an interview on Ukrainian radio Tuesday Yevtukhov said he hoped they would find "a civilized solution" to the issue of prices on Russian gas. Otherwise, he said, it will represent an economic blockade against Ukraine.

Defense Ministry: Army 'Not Part' of CIS Allied Forces

LD1902221893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1956 GMT 19 Feb 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zayka for TASS]

[Text] Kiev February 19 TASS—The Ukrainian Army is not part of the Commonwealth Allied Armed Forces and thus it does not plan to send its representatives to the so-called All-Army Officers' Assembly, the Ukrainian Defence Ministry's press service said here today, responding to reports in some Russian mass media bodies, claiming the arrival of Ukrainian officers to the assembly.

Conscripts Return From Georgia, Tajikistan

LD2202124993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Three hundred sixty-two servicemen who are Ukrainian citizens have returned from Georgia and Tajikistan, where they were undergoing compulsory military service. This action was carried out in accordance

with an order by the president of Ukraine, which envisaged that soldiers and sergeants in Georgia and Tajikistan would return to Ukraine by 1 February. The Ministry of Defense and the State Committee for Issues of Defense of the State Border informed us today that 139 of the servicmen did not want to return, (?in as much as) they had signed contracts there.

Further on Official Visit by German Foreign Minister

AU1702151293 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17 Feb 93 p 1

[Bernt Conrad report: "Kinkel: We Are Sitting in the Same Boat"]

[Text] Kiev—From Kiev FRG Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has appealed to the partners in the West to get as much involved in Eastern Europe and, in particular, in Ukraine as Germany. "We are all sitting in the same boat. Other countries mut also see it in this way," he noted at the conclusion of his two-day visit to the Ukrainian capital. His summary: "We are facing a difficult balancing act between expectations and the things that we can really do. However, we see Ukraine as a factor of stability in the region, the welfare of which must be in our very own interest." Specifically, Kinkel promised speedy medical aid.

After the minister's visit it is clear that Ukraine—the second-largest successor state of the former Soviet Union—will be a focal point of German foreign policy in the future. In a joint statement, which has been initialed and which Chancellor Helmut Kohl wants to sign with President Leonid Kravchuk during a visit in June, both sides stress that the "traditional friendship" and close cooperation are to be given a "new quality." A basis for this are an investment promotion agreement and a cultural agreement, which were signed during Kinkel's visit.

In a conversation with Kinkel yesterday, Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma criticized the Russians' attitude toward the old Soviet debts: "The Russians want to formally take over all debts and all assets, but, at the same time, they expect Ukraine to internally take over 16 percent of the debts." The head of government accused the West of "looking at everything through the eyes of the Russians."

Kinkel's urging for a more speedy closing down of the 22 Ukrainian Chernobyl-type nuclear power plants was countered by Kuchma: "Russia sells us energy at expensive world market prices, which we cannot pay. Therefore, we must keep the nuclear power plants, even though they devour 12 percent of our state budget." On an alarming note, the deputy prime minister added: "The world must know how great our misery is. If this does not change, we could quickly end up with the old system again."

On the evening before President Kravchuk had been more optimistic about the situation. In a conversation at the spotlessly clean conference table, where there were no taboos and which was also attended by the DIE WELT correspondent, he had assured Kinkel: "We want to destroy the nuclear weapons and not continue to accumulate them. It is good that you want to help us with that, because this problem gives us a headache." Thus he answered questions about the 176 intercontinental missiles, which are still stationed in the country and about the still pending accession to the Nonproliferation Treaty.

"Of course, in our Parliament, like everywhere else, there are different views on this issue," the chubby-faced former Communist Party functionary explained. "But as a state we are aware of our responsibility. We do not want to disturb the strategic balance."

Kravchuk promised any kind of help to Russian Germans who want to settle in his country. He remained calm and self-critical when Kinkel broached the sensitive issue of oil deliveries from Ukrainian ports to Serbia. "We fulfill our obligations," he insisted. "But in our ports goods can be loaded and unloaded, and some companies change the papers later. We cannot do anything against forged papers. Many companies want their goods to reach Serbia at any cost—including German companies."

Here the Bonn foreign minister cut in immediately: "We are very interested in that; we would like to have documents about that. Then we will investigate the German companies." However, Kravchuk referred him to his Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko—and this man had to give up on the next day: "We do not have any evidence, only press reports."

The president offered Kinkel checks of the ships that leave Ukrainian ports. The FRG foreign minister agreed to that: "We are willing to send observers."

Kiev Owes Russia 6.3 Billion Rubles for Nuclear Fuel

OW2302121893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] To date Ukrainian nuclear power stations owe Russian nuclear fuel suppliers 6.3 Bn [billion] rubles and consumers owe the power stations 10.2 karbovantsy (1 rouble = 1.75 karbovantsy). The figures were disclosed at a meeting of Ukrainian and Russian energy experts at the Zaporozhskaya nuclear power station, the first one to get a licence from the Ukrainian government.

Ukraine will need 112 Bn rubles in 1994 to pay for nuclear fuel from Russia with a 10% monthly inflation rate. Participants in the meeting appealed to the prime-ministers of Ukraine and Russia for a special credit for the purpose.

According to the Ukrainian Ministry for Atomic Energy, if the country imports nuclear fuel from the West, it will have to pay 40-50% more.

The meeting also discussed the transportation of nuclear wastes from Ukraine to Russia. Representatives of the Krasnoyarsk mining and chemical complex, for example, spoke against the practice stressing that Russian legislation bans the acceptance of nuclear wastes from foreign countries for burial.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Issues Promotions of Border Troop Leaders

LD2402015993 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, has signed an order on regular promotions for leaders of the national border troops. Major General Viktor Vannykh, chief of their staff, has become a lieutenant general. Ivan Chudnovskyy, chief of the southeast directorate of these troops, has been promoted to the rank of major general.

Armaments Chief 'Removed'; Defense Minister Comments

LD2302225293 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] The latest personnel changes in the higher echelons of the Armed Forces of Ukraine have evoked much response among political figures and journalists, and have also given rise to varied interpretations. The press service of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine has explained that this was done with the aim of stopping the theft of military property and abuses on the part of high-ranking military persons. The last to be relieved of his post was Lieutenant General Oliynyk, chief of armaments of the Armed Forces. We asked Defense Minister Konstyantyn Morozov to explain the reason for this.

[Begin Morozov recording] Well, this was done on the results of an administrative investigation. Many facts of gross violations of the established procedure for activity at the Ministry of Defense were revealed. In order to put a stop to this and to reach understanding on the basis of the law, on the basis of the investigation, this official was removed from further implementation of official obligations by order of the minister of defense. However, he was not dismissed, but only until all aspects have, as they say, been viewed, for example, losses for storing up arms which were illegally prepared for delivery abroad already come to more than 10 million karbovantsi today. And someone should answer for this. [end recording]

Military 'Expressing Bewilderment'

PM2402093393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Feb 93 p 1

[Anatoliy Polyakov report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Change in Ukrainian Defense Ministry"]

[Text] Kiev—By order of Defense Minister Colonel General Konstyantyn Morozov, Lieutenant General Ivan Oleynik, Ukrainian Armed Forces chief of armaments, has been removed from service duties.

The reasons given are the violation of service obligations and the breach of existing legislation, a Ukrainian Defense Ministry Press Service report says. It has been learned from competent sources that Oleynik has been accused of involvement in an attempt to sell weapons abroad illicitly.

Lieutenant General Vasiliy Sobkov, chief of the Ukrainian General Staff, was recently demoted. Changes have been made in the leaderships of the Air Forces and Air Defense. Parliamentary and military circles are expressing bewilderment as to why, as in former times, the reasons for the change at the highest military echelon are not being explained to the public.

Kravchuk Appoints Commander of Unified Air Force

AU2402124493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 20 Feb 93 p 2

["Ukrainian Presidential Decree on the Commander of Ukraine's Air Force issued in Kiev on 28 January]

[Text] In connection with the unification of the Air Force and Air Defense Troops into a single Ukrainian Armed Service—Ukraine's Air Force—I decree as follows:

1. To appoint Lieutenant General ANTONETS, Volodymyr Mykhaylovych, commander of Ukraine's Air Force.

2. To relieve Lieutenant General of the Aviation VASYLYEV, Valeriy Opanasovych, of his duties as Commander of Ukraine's Air Force.

3. To relieve Lieutenant General LOPATIN, Mykhaylo Oleksiyovych, of his duties as commander of Ukraine's Air Defense Troops.

4. The edict must be brought to the notice of military units and institutions and read out to personnel.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, Ukraine's president

[Dated] Kiev, 28 January 1993

Union Federation Continues To Cooperate With Government

WS2302130093 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 4 Feb 93 p 1,3

[Report by T. Babych: "The Point Is To Survive"]

[Text] You can hardly envy our trade unions. A year ago, leaders of the Republic's largest trade union, the Ukrainian Independent Trade Union Federation [FNPU], solemnly pronounced their pro-market orientation, and said they were no longer a "school of communism" or the "driving belt" linking the authorities to the people because they conducted an independent social protection policy.

Sure enough, the federation attracted attention by forcing the Fokin government to sign a joint agreement. Afterwards, it made several very broad hints that you would be better off if you treated it seriously. But the federation quickly ran out of zeal.

Two years ago, the extraordinary congress of the FNPU dropped the word "independent" from the organization's name, leaving many people clearly surprised: What for? At the first congress of the now simply Ukrainian Trade Union Federation, held in Kiev on 28-29 October, everything was cleared up: the trade unions change their colors depending upon the situation.

In his report to the congress deputies, the FNPU's newly elected chairman, O. Stoyan, reconfirmed the unions' intention of acting as the constructive opposition toward the government, its bodies, and employers. However, this opposition might take the shape of a bitter confrontation—in the event that the rights of trade unionists are curtailed—or a social partnership.

But at present, as the chairman said, the unions have found themselves in quite a delicate situation. On the one hand, the federation's leadership is not in position to overlook the outburst of discontent among the people, provoked by the recent resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers "On Price Regulation," and some of its other legislation, which placed many people far below the poverty line. On the other hand, according to O. Stoyan, they "understand" the objective reasons that brought the Ukrainian economy to a disaster, and that is why they are ready to "give the government a chance to implement its edicts." In terms of organization, this "mutual affection," fervently welcomed by the prime minister, is intended to shape into the National Council for Social Partnership. The edict on its creation expected to be issued any day now.

But the reaction of the deputies to this proposal was far from unanimous: there were calls for an all-Ukrainian strike, collecting signatures pressing for the dissolution of the legislature as well as for the assessment of President Kravchuk, who did not sign the CIS Charter in Minsk. So the Presidium of the Congress had to put forth considerable effort in order to keep the situation under control. The report of Ukrainian Prime Minister L. Kuchma poured some cold water on the participants' heads. He said that the state budget deficit amounted to 325 billion rubles this year; that construction, except for housing, had practically stopped; that the volume of coal mining had fallen to the 1954 level; and that oil would have to be bought at world prices. So there can be no talk about any social guarantees. We should only pray for our survival.

It should be noted that this report stunned the audience so much that no one asked how they were supposed to survive when the wages and pensions are a third and a half the size of the national minimum.

The union leadership may succeed in its attempts to cater both to the people and the government. But, as one of the congress participants assumed, the people may ask some day if they need this kind of trade union at all.

Narodny Rukh To Collect Signatures for Early Elections

OW2402130793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1132 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine's Narodny Rukh will collect the three million signatures this spring required to stage a referendum on early parliamentary elections in the opinion of Vyacheslav Chornovil, the movement's leader.

Speaking on Tuesday [23 February] on national television, Chornovil expressed his regret that "a number of democratic movements in the republic were as yet undecided on the issue of collecting signatures to back up the demand for early parliamentary elections in Ukraine." He remarked that certain politicians were against the campaign to collect signatures and instead advocated acts of civil obedience and the departure of the democratic minority from parliament.

Regarding the activities of this democratic minority in parliament which was unwilling to take part in the elections to the "ideologically orientated" Constitutional Court, Chornovil said that "the position of the democrats was fully justified since that parliamentary majority was unwilling to compromise." In his view the current crisis in parliament obviously signified that it was "time to part with this Supreme Council."

On the same day Chornovil left on a working trip to the United States.

Belarus

Parliamentarian Supports Nuclear-Free State Status

LD2302222493 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] In the history of all the world's states, we are the first to voluntarily renounce mass destruction weapons in favor of our neighbor, a large nuclear state. This is how, in his interview to the newspaper RESPUBLIKA today, People's Deputy Mechislav Gryb, chairman of the parliamentary commission for national security, legality, and fighting crime, described the ratification by the Supreme Soviet of the Lisbon protocol on the removal of strategic weapons from Belarus to the territory of the Russian Federation. However, the opponents of such a measure express concern that with giving up nuclear weapons our republic will lose the image of an independent state and, along with it, its attraction for foreign countries.

Such a Belarusian precedent can allegedly be of bad service. Yes, Belarus has set a precedent, but a positive precedent, argues Mechilav Gryb. He gives the following arguments in favor: The fewer countries remaining in the world having nuclear weapons, the calmer it will be on the earth. Belarus is a nuclear-free state, i.e., it will not be a target for those weapons. I do not think we have become weaker. It is difficult to imagine against whom we can use such weapons. I believe that the image of our republic will not suffer from its acquiring the status of a nuclear-free state, underlined the chairman of the parliamentary commission for national security.

Manning Problems in Army; Hunt for Draft-Dodgers

LD2302223493 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Our republic is now creating its own armed forces. In this connection a lot of problems are arising. One of them is the manning of units and subunits. Thus, last year it was necessary to draft 20,000 young men for a fixed service period. Ninety percent of them have become servicemen of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus. All of them will serve for one and a half years on the territory of their republic. Nobody has been sent to training subunits outside the borders of Belarus. The Ministry of Defense tried to organize the service for a fixed period in such a way that young men would serve not far from their home and be able to meet their family and friends.

What awaits draft-dodgers? There are 1,500 of them. The surnames of the young men who have not fulfilled their constitutional duty are known. The militia are looking for them. The procurator's office will have its say too. In the opinion of Deputy Defense Minister Petr Chaus, the reason for evading the fulfillment of their duty to the motherland is the change in young people's social and psychological guidelines. It is necessary to review the system of upbringing for the growing generation because the motherland, love for it, and the need for its defense are hardly mentioned in the schools. Local authorities close shooting galleries and facilities for physical upbringing of young people and give them to commercial structures. Money and practical considerations gain the upper hand.

EBRD President Signs Agreement on Joint Oil Project

MK2302112493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 20 Feb 93 p 11

[Valeriya Sycheva: "European Bank Will Help Belarus Extract Oil in Russia"]

[Text] Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], paid a one-day visit to Minsk on 19 February at the invitation of Belarus Vice Premier Mikhail Myasnikovich. During the visit, a memorandum of understanding between the EBRD and Belarus and specific cooperation programs were signed. In particular the EBRD will take part in a joint Belarus-Russian project to extract oil in Tyumen Oblast.

The situation in the Belarus economy today is critical because of an acute oil shortage. The republic is getting 16 million tonnes of oil from Russia and itself produces approximately 2 million tonnes. This means that its two oil refineries, with a capacity of 34 million tonnes, cannot operate normally. This situation is also affecting Russia, which is continually receiving short supplies of oil products from those refineries. That is why the two republics have an interest in pursuing joint oil production. At present, 15,000 oilmen from Belarus are working under the tour system in the town of Langepas in Tyumen Oblast to bring in and operate idle wells. A perennial shortage of materials and equipment and the impossibility of resolving the problem with Russian funds resulted in the EBRD's being invited to join in this project. No specific sum of the total investments has so far been determined and, as was decided during the EBRD president's visit to Minsk, it will be agreed on separately. For their part, the European partners are hoping that some of the oil products will be exported to Western and Eastern European countries.

Overall, some 20 project were signed during the visit. These include the "Elektrosvyaz-Belarus" project, which provides for the construction and setting up of a modern telecommunications network in the republic, with $40 million to be invested in it. It is planned to use the money to open an international telephone station in Minsk and an intercity telephone station in Vitebsk.

Coordinator Says 'EC Open for Legal Cooperation'

WS2302153093 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Jurgen Foss, coordinator of the special program of the EC commissions on legal cooperation with the CIS countries, conducted a working visit to Belarus.

The decision to work out such a program was adopted last year at the Kiev meeting of the representatives of [words indistinct] community. The key goal of this program is to promote fruitful and mutually beneficial trade and economic relations among the CIS countries and between the new independent states and the European Economic Community.

"With the collapse of the USSR there appeared a danger of establishing a number of legal economic systems independent of each other," noted Jurgen Foss at a meeting with journalists. "Such systems could become an obstacle to developing trade and economic interrelations among them. That is why it is necessary to create such legal conditions that would ensure a free movement of ideas, people, capital, goods, and services on the former USSR territory."

"The program also defines the primary trends in legal cooperation between the EC commissions and the CIS countries," said its coordinator. "It deals with cooperation in preparing civil codes in the CIS states and with interaction in legal spheres concerning the attraction of foreign investors to the new independent countries. As for the last issue, Belarus plays the leading role here," noted Jurgen Foss. "Its geographical position can make this country a link between the East and the West."

Jurgen Foss stressed, however, that Belarus would have to withstand competition from the Czech Republic and Hungary, but at present it had few chances to win. Belarus is not very attractive to foreign investors due to the absence of raw materials and a vast domestic market capable of importing a great amount of goods. Nevertheless, it has a chance. As regards the European Community, it is open for bilateral cooperation with Belarus in the sphere of economic law. Contrary to other CIS countries, Belarus has been and remains an islet of political stability and law enforcement. Modern technologies and skilled workers are inherent in the Belarusian economy.

Jurgen Foss met with some members of the Supreme Council Legislative Committee. They discussed the possibilities of implementing the existing joint projects in the sphere of legal cooperation between the EC commissions and Belarus, primarily of the programs concerning the expertise of the draft Civil Code and the analysis of investment conditions.

Communist Party Leader Interviewed on Party's Prospects

WS2302154593 Minsk SEM DNEY in Russian 6 Feb 93 p 1

[Interview with Anatoliy Malofeev, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Belarusian Communist Party, by unidentified correspondent under the "Two Viewpoints" rubric: "Anatoliy Malofeyev: 'I Am for the Unification Congress'; place and date not given—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] By roll-call vote, the 10th session of the Belarusian Supreme Council adopted a decision on the destiny of the Communist Party. By a majority of votes, the Supreme Council repealed the Decree "On Temporary Ban of the Belarusian Communist Party's Activities on the Territory of Belarus," which had been adopted on 25 August, 1991. The property of the party became the state property.

Our editorial board has asked Anatoliy Malofeyev, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Belarusian Communist Party, to comment on this decision. We want to remind you that he was elected to the post in December, 1990.

[Malofeyev] This was the single correct decision of the Supreme Council. I am glad that the Supreme Council was courageous enough to reestablish justice. The deputies have risen above the minor political interests and it does them credit.

[SEM DNEY] What does the Belarusian Communist Party contribute in this decision?

[Malofeyev] I have already expressed my viewpoint that it is impossible to restore the Belarusian Communist Party [BCP] in the old form. A lot of time has passed, and we have changed. But the socialist path of development is inevitable. I still do not know the opinions of my party colleagues. In the nearest future, we will meet and exchange our opinions. I am sure that there cannot be several parties and several movements within the communist trend. That is why I am supporting the idea of holding a unification congress. It is illogical to divide into small parties. The main issue is not the name of the party. The most important thing is that we should reestablish the party that will express ordinary people's interests. It will be an opposition party.

I am quite sure that we will find a common language with the Political Executive Committee of the BCP. It is ridiculous to oppose each other. Our primary task is to hold a congress, to adopt the BCP rules and program, to elect the appropriate party structures.

[SEM DNEY] By the Supreme Council decree, the Belarusian Prosecutor Office was authorized to inspect the activities of the BCP to find out some possible ties with the State Committee for Emergency. Does the repeal of the former Supreme Council's decision mean that the BCP had not done anything illegal? Have any party officials been called to account?

[Malofeyev] The Supreme Council answered your questions by its 5 January 1993 decision. It is clear that the BCP is not connected with those palace intrigues. I am sure that Mikhail Gorbachev is involved in this case himself.

[SEM DNEY] Did you contact Mikhail Gorbachev after August 1991?

[Malofeyev] I do not want to speak about this indecent man. He does not exist for me.

Minsk City Communist Party Leader Interviewed

WS2402110093 Minsk SEM DNEY in Russian
6 Feb 93 p 1

[Interview with Emelan Lepeshko, first secretary of Minsk City Communist Party Committee, member of the Political Executive Council of the Belarusian Communist Party, by unidentified correspondent under the "Two Viewpoints" rubric: "Emelan Lepeshko: 'We Are For Unity But Without Recreants.'"; place and date not given—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] By roll-call vote, the 10th session of the Belarusian supreme Council adopted a decision on the destiny of the Communist Party. By a majority of votes, the Supreme council repealed the Decree "On Temporary Ban of the Belarusian Communist Party's Activities on the Territory of Belarus," which had been adopted on 25 August, 1991. The party property became the state property.

The Belarusian Communist Party was officially registered over a year ago. Emelan Lepeshko, first secretary of Minsk City Communist Party Committee, member of the Political Executive Council of the Belarusian Communist Party, answers the questions from our correspondent.

[SEM DNEY] What was the reaction of the Belarusian Communist Party [BCP] leadership to the Supreme Council's decision to repeal the decree banning the activities of the communist party in Belarus?

[Lepeshko] In our view, justice was reestablished. At last amnesty was granted to all honest communists of Belarus. I want to remind you that from the first day of its banning, the BCP struggled tirelessly for the repeal of the notorious decree. We assumed that the persecution of communists always led to the reign of fascism.

[SEM DNEY] Do you completely agree with the last Supreme Council's decision?

[Lepeshko] Of course not. First, our property was not returned to us. It is the property of ordinary workers, farmers, and intellectuals who had been paying their membership fees. All this was illegally taken away.

[SEM DNEY] Currently, Belarusian communists have found themselves in a new political situation. In your opinion, will the Communist Party of Belarus [CPB] be reestablished? If so, is it possible to unite the CPB and the BCP in one political movement?

[Lepeshko] We do not need a split. We are for the unity of the communist movement. The destiny of the party should be decided at the congress. As for us, we have never excluded ourselves from the CPB. But since August 1991, we could not be passive. So, we have organized the BCP. Currently, being bound by the laws and our rules, we will take an active part in the reconstruction of party cells in all Belarusian cities and rayons. But we reject the idea of the communist party reconstruction by the former party apparatchiks who betrayed the communist idea, or by those former communists who are happily working in commercial structures but have hidden their party cards in the safe. We will never make up.

Decree on State Science and Technology Policy

WS2302132093 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian
5 Feb 93 p 3

[Decree of the Belarusian Supreme Council "On Implementation of the Law of the Republic of Belarus 'On State Science and Technology Policy'"]

The Belarusian Supreme Council **decrees:**

1. To enact the Decree of the Belarusian Supreme Council "On Implementation of the Law of the Republic of Belarus 'On State Science and Technology Policy'" from the day of its publication.

2. In order to bring the legislation of the Republic of Belarus into conformity with the Law of the Republic of Belarus "On State Science and Technology Policy," the acting legislation is used inasmuch as it does not contradict the given law.

3. To authorize the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers to establish additional sources for the creation of special purpose construction funds (a fund for the development of construction science) during the period of transition to the market economy. The fund should be created by means of increasing the contract price, which should be included into production costs for construction and installation.

4. To charge the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers by 1 May 1993:

to bring government resolutions into conformity with the Law of the Republic of Belarus "On State Science and Technology Policy";

to elaborate normative acts which are necessary for the implementation of this law;

to ensure that ministries and departments repeal their normative acts contradicting the given law;

to submit to the Belarusian Supreme Council proposals:

on bringing the Belarusian legislature into conformity with the Law of the Republic of Belarus "On State Science and Technology Policy" and adoption of new legislative acts resulting from the regulations of the given law;

on priority trends in the state science and technology policy;

on international scientific and technical cooperation of state organs, enterprises, organizations, and institutions of the Republic of Belarus.

[Signed] S. Shushkevich, Supreme Council chairman of the Republic of Belarus

[Dated] Minsk, 19 January 1993

Decree on Renaming Supreme Council Commission

WS2302154093 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 6 Feb 93 p 3

[Decree of the Belarusian Supreme Council "On Renaming of the Belarusian Supreme Council Commission for National Policy and International Relations;" issued in Minsk on 26 January]

[Text] The Belarusian Supreme Council **decrees:**

To rename the Commission of the Belarusian Supreme Council for National Policy and International Relations into the Commission of the Belarusian Supreme Council for National Policy and Issues of the Commonwealth of the Independent States.

[Signed] S. Shushkevich, Supreme Council chairman of the Republic of Belarus

[Dated] Minsk, 26 January 1993

Moldova

Government Criticizes Russian Army Exercises

LD2402105893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Report by unidentified Moldovan radio announcer]

[Text] One should not fail to make a connection between the activation of the extremist wing of the separatist movement in Moldova's eastern regions and the tactical exercises, involving combat artillery firing, that are currently being conducted by the Russian Federation 14th Army, stationed temporarily in the same region. Russian listeners should be at least partially aware of the fact that during these exercises the 14th Army command gave the opportunity to shoot to the gunmen of Tiraspol's illegal armed formations.

In two diplomatic notes from the Moldovan Foreign Ministry to the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, this action is described as breaching the agreement signed by Presidents Snegur and Yeltsin and the legislature of the Republic of Moldova. I believe listeners are not well aware of the response of the Moldovan Foreign Ministry to the response of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry on this subject. The Moldovan Foreign Ministry's press communique points out that the statement by an anonymous official of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry to the ITAR-TASS news agency alleging that Moldova was informed beforehand of 14th Army exercises does not correspond to reality; it also points out that this statement misinforms the public. According to the 27 May 1992 resolution of the republic's parliament, it is incumbent upon the Russian Federation Army to coordinate this and other actions with the Moldovan Government. Moreover, after being made aware of this parliamentary resolution, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Berdennikov stated that the 14th Army coordinates its plans for tactical exercises with local self-government bodies. Such an attitude to this rather subtle issue—the presence of the 14th Army on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, a sovereign state—is perceived as at least bizarre and builds up tensions in the region, the Moldovan Foreign Ministry's press communique points out.

Customs Regulations Changed in Import, Export Operations

LD2302172193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1137 GMT 23 Feb 93

[BY MOLDOVA-PRES for TASS]

[Text] Chisinau, 23 Feb—Compulsory declaration and state customs control of all goods and material valuables, being imported and exported by economic subjects of the Republic irrespective of the form of ownership, have been introduced in Moldova. Customs clearance of goods is carried out equally for exports both into the countries of the former USSR and into other countries. A customs duty of 0.15 percent of the total value of the declared goods has been set for drawing up customs documents and for the customs clearance of goods.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Holds Meeting on Alma-Ata Problems

LD2302190293 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev had a meeting on 23 February with the leaders of the executive and representative bodies of power of Kazakhstan's capital. The meeting discussed topical problems relating to the development of its complex multisectoral economy. Alma-Ata is a mirror which closely reflects all the political and social realities of our young state. For this reason, the president stressed, the local administration and councils, and the government of the republic, should take all necessary measures to make the capital exemplary in all respects in the very near future.

Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed great concern at the poor work of public transport. Concerning issues of construction, both industrial and residential, the president noted that cardinal measures are indispensible here. It is essential to adopt a special government program and make provision for radical improvement in providing the city with electrical power, gas and food, and developing transport and other infrastructure. It is important to push through as quickly as possible the construction of a subway, so as to commission its first six stations as early as 1997.

Taking part in the meeting were Sergey Tereshchenko, prime minister; Zhanibek Karibzhanov, his deputy and chairman of the State Committee for Management of State Property; Nurtay Abykayev, head of the apparatus of the president and Cabinet of Ministers; and the leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

Kuchma News Conference in Alma-Ata Described

LD2302134993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Excerpts] A government delegation headed by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma is in Kazakhstan. Special correspondent Vitaliy Naumenko reports from Alma-Ata. The recording was made over the telephone.

[Begin Naumenko recording] I am 100-percent satisfied with the results of the Ukrainian Government delegation's visit to the Republic of Kazakhstan and with the talks held with President Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Tereshchenko, Leonid Kuchma stated at a final news conference immediately after signing a whole series of important interstate treaties. I will name just a few of them: on cooperation in the oil and gas complex; on nontrade payments; two treaties on transport vehicle [word indistinct] and railway connections; a treaty on postal orders; on (?electronic) postal links; and a customs treaty.

Here is some detailed information on the individual positions. For Ukraine [word indistinct] position is oil. This year Kazakhstan will extract 27.5 million tonnes for itself. All the oil has been signed for in this country. As Leonid Danylovych Kuchma stated, and I quote: Had we not been sleeping, waiting for them to raise the price of oil just like in a famous film, then perhaps the oil situation in Ukraine would have been significantly better.

The Kazakh prime minister stated: I believe that if we work normally in this field, Ukraine can receive somewhere in the region of 1 million additional tonnes of oil. As we see, the future is not all that bad. In addition to this, we are proposing that all foreign partners cooperate with us. I think Ukrainian listeners will be interested to know that in seven years Kazakhstan plans to extract 100 million tonnes of oil.

Tereshchenko stated that it would be a sin for Ukraine not to exploit this. It needs to come here without fail with its investment, equipment, and technology and receive a corresponding part of the oil. This is covered by the signed treaties, the Kazakh prime minister stated.

Obviously Leonid Danylovych Kuchma supported this idea. The second position was on cooperation in the space field. I quote verbatim what the Ukrainian prime minister said: I have already stated this more than once and I repeat again today that a single country cannot work independently in the space field. Today we should be integrated, also because this is a very expensive diversion.

In Kuchma's opinion, a tripartite treaty is required among Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. Tereshchenko stated that Ukraine has received such a proposal and the Kazakh prime minister said he thinks such a document will soon be signed.

There is also grain. Ukraine urgently requested supplies of 500,000 tonnes of grain. As Leonid Danylovych stated, this issue has been resolved. [passage omitted]

Incidentally, the Ukrainian prime minister was left with a very good view of Nursultan Nazarbayev. He called him one of the key figures in the CIS.

As for the question of mutual payments, Tereshchenko stated that this issue will be handled on a civilized basis. An interstate commission was formed to control the implementation of treaties. On the Ukrainian side it will be headed by cochairman Vasyl Yevtukhov. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Economic Cooperation Viewed

OW2302172193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In 1993 Kazakhstan will provide to Ukraine 500,000 tons of crude oil, the latter paying for the supplies in rubles at a prices far below its international analogue. Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and his Kazakh counterpart Sergey Tereshchenko made this announcement that at a press conference in Alma-Ata on Monday [22 February].

The Ukrainian and Kazakh prime ministers shared with journalists the results of their bilateral talks when they outlined the principles of these countries' economic cooperation for 1993 and later years.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: In Alma-Ata, the Ukrainian and Kazakh government delegations have signed ten economic agreements, including those on the principles of their cooperation in oil and gas production, non-trade payments, the countries' mutual accounting procedures, the principles of cooperation in the area of mass transit, cooperation in countering smuggling and violations of customs regulations, and a protocol on the customs rules in regards to transit cargoes and passengers' personal baggage.

The journalists were told that the overall turnover between the two countries in 1992 has amounted to $1.2 Bn [billion]. Both premiers have indicated that they "did not envisage any problems with the countries' mutual accounting in 1993."

The sides agreed to set up an inter-government commission for economic cooperation, with Deputy Prime Minister Yevgeniy Yevtukhov [first name as received], as head of the Ukrainian party and Deputy Prime Minister Asygat Zhabagin, as head of the Kazakh party in this commission.

In answering Interfax' query, Sergey Tereshchenko revealed the essence of the agreement on the principles of cooperation in oil and gas industry, saying Ukrainian teams of oil specialists would be assigned to put back in operation 1500 oil wells which are currently shut down in Kazakhstan's Mangistau and Aktyubinsk regions.

He expressed assurance that the Ukrainian specialists will install new pumping systems and replace the outdated equipment. A new pipeline will laid shortly after that to enable Ukraine to receive the first 1 Mn [million] tons of crude oil for its needs already in 1993.

In the words of Leonid Kuchma, Ukrainian refineries are now working at only 30-50% of their projected capacity. He also said that Ukraine will provide to Kazakhstan its financial assistance, equipment and know-how to promote the development of its oil production capabilities.

In the words of the Kazakh premier, in 1993 the republic is planning to output 27.5 Mn tons of oil. 7 Mn tons will be earmarked for export, and 20 Mn tons will be consumed by the republic.

"This goes to show that Kazakhstan does not have any oil to spare at the moment," Sergey Tereshchenko remarked. In the meantime, in the coming seven years Kazakhstan is going to raise its oil output to 100 Mn tons a year, he said.

IF Note: In 1992, Kazakhstan produced 26.5 Mn tons of oil, its oil export comprising 6 Mn tons. The republic consumes 20 Mn tons of oil a year.

Commenting on the ongoing energy crisis in Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma was highly critical about the RF [Russian Federation] government's intention to raise natural gas prices to the level of $85 per 1000 cubic meters. In his words, it would be much cheaper for Ukraine to buy gas in Turkmenistan which, in his words, will provide to Ukraine up to 40% of its export supplies at a price of 13,000 rubles per 1000 cubic meters of gas.

In the words of Sergey Tereshchenko, "Kazakhstan does not experience any problems with natural gas since, for want of rubles, the republic can always pay Turkmenistan with grain for its gas supplies."

Mr Tereshchenko also said that the Ukrainian delegation requested that Kazakhstan supply to Ukraine 500,000 tons of grain. Kazakhstan "will seek options for doing it," he said. (In 1992, Kazakhstan's grain harvest - 33 Mn tons of wheat - was the greatest in the recent 13 years. The republic's internal grain consumption amounting to 14 Mn tons of grain - Interfax).

IF Note: The first official talks between the Kazakh and Ukrainian governments were staged in Alma-Ata on December 29, 1992. The then head of the Ukrainian delegation, Yuriy Yukhnovskyy [first name as received], requested that Kazakhstan supply to the republic 5 Mn tons of crude oil. The Kazakh government, however, was only prepared to discuss future supplies in the area of 2 Mn tons. Ukraine consumes 45 Mn tons of oil and 20-25 Bn cubic meters of natural gas a year.

Continuing his working trip to Central Asian Commonwealth states, Kuchma arrived in the capital of Kyrgyzstan on Tuesday. During the first half of the day he met with President Askar Akayev.

Economic Anti-Crisis Measures for 1993-95 Outlined

OW1802224493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2002 GMT 18 Feb 93

[From the "Profile" section of the INTEFAX "Business Report"—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The program of immediate anti-crisis measures for 1993-95 approved by the Kazakh Parliament, outlines the timeframe for creating basic market mechanisms in the republic and the aspects of restructuring aimed at increasing export potential.

The government program was harshly criticized in parliamentary discussions for its lack of specificity and clarity.

Government Ready To Let Enterprises Go Under

Unlike its Russian and Ukrainian counterparts targeted for one year, the Kazakh program embraces the period to 1995.

During the first stage of the program in 1993, the government will cut inflation (which the State Statistics Committee of Kazakhstan said reached 2000% last year) "to the lowest possible level", halt the drop in production (14.8% in 1992), and keep the national budget deficit at 3-5% of gross national product.

The government will also apply bankruptcy procedures to manufacturing enterprises, tighten its financial policy, limit the increase in funds directed for consumption, and improve tax policy.

The second stage targeted for 1994 will include the privatization of small and mid-size enterprises, and the elimination, with certain exceptions, the government contract system.

The third stage in 1995 will bring completion of the formation of structures to regulate the market economy through a single policy in the areas of taxation, the budget, prices, loans, investment, and trade.

Program To Restructure Industry

The government program gives priority to the fuel and energy and metallurgy complexes, saturating the market with food and consumer goods, and developing the nation's communications system.

The government of Kazakhstan, second to Russia in oil production in the former Soviet Union (25.66 million tons in 1992, 26.4 million in 1991), will increase the flow of investment in the oil industry, and make the republic energy independent.

The ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy industries will be reconstructed (production in these areas fell 6-5% in 1992), the potential to export chemical product developed (production of mineral fertilizers, resin, plastics, chemical fibers, and synthetic rubber), and ex-defense plants will be used to increase the production of high-tech equipment for agriculture, the consumer sector, and medicine.

The Cabinet plans to accomplish this without free government loans. Enterprises use their own funds, and savings drawn by higher interest rates, to stimulate production.

The program specifies that Kazakhstan will take advantage of its location between Asia and Europe to develop its transportation system. Special focus will be placed on the construction of a transasian railroad (passing through Iran, Pakistan, Russia, and China), highways from Europe to Central Asia, and the development of a large port system in cooperation with Iran, in Aktua, Bautino, and YerAliyevo on the Caspian Sea.

Government To Increase Support for Agricultural Sector

The Cabinet will examine the republic's growing area to increase the production of technical and feed crops (needed to support the livestock industry), and expand grain production (Kazakhstan is the only former Soviet republic to export wheat; the republic threshed 29.5 million tons last year).

The government will maintain cheap financing for the agricultural sector in 1993, as well as subsidies on several agricultural products. Hard currency resources will be earmarked for the import of pesticides and veterinary medicines.

Foreign Economic Policy

The government of Kazakhstan said raw materials and semi-finished goods, fuels, metals and other non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgic product, chemical and petrochemical product, and agricultural products for the light and food industries (2/3 of the $1.48 billion in exports last year were fuels and raw materials) will remain the primary export products.

The program states that the right to export raw materials, except for those classified as strategically important, will be extended to all economic entities. This right will be granted on a competitive basis on condition that one half of hard currency revenues be sold to the national bank at the current market rate. Export duties will also apply.

The government will ensure a stable environment for foreign investors and will sign bilateral agreements with foreign countries to protect investments.

Privatization of Large Enterprises To Begin With Restructuring Into Stock Companies

The government will submit a separate privatization program to Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. The cabinet said that enterprises will be transferred to the private sector at the government's initiative (and not at the initiative of employees or mediators), with the latter exercising strict control over the privatization process.

All government enterprises scheduled to undergo privatization will be divided into three categories: the 1st category includes large enterprises with more than 5,000 employees and fixed assets of at least 100 million rubles (as of January 1, 1992); the 2nd category contains mid-size enterprises employing between 200 to 5,000 and with fixed assets of 5 million to 100 million rubles. The 3rd category is made up of small enterprises with at least 200 employees and fixed assets of up to 5 million rubles; the last category will be the first to be privatized.

State enterprises falling into the first two categories must be restructured into public stock companies early this year. Their shares will remain in government possession for the initial period and will later be transferred, either completely of partially, to the enterprises' employees, and private sector legal entities and physical individuals.

Kyrgyzstan

Ukrainian Prime Minister Arrives on One-Day Visit

LD2302071693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0707 GMT 23 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek February 23 TASS—A Ukrainian governmental delegation headed by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma arrived in the capital of Kyrgyzstan for a one-day visit. During the visit he is to meet President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev and Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyngyshev, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora in the republic.

The sides are expected to sign draft agreements on cooperation as regards issues of further development of economic and cultural ties. They will also consider problems of mutual payments and non-trade payments, problems of electric power engineering, postal services and organized return of departed persons and national minorities.

Akayev, Kuchma Stress Cooperation

LD2302172293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1405 GMT 23 Feb 93

[By KYRGYZKABAR correspondent Aleksandr Barshay]

[Text] Bishkek, 23 February (TASS)—"Republics of the former USSR urgently need to restore destroyed economic ties for we cannot place our hopes on anybody, no third party will come to our aid," Ukraine Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma said today in a conversation with Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev.

"We have lost so much from the fact that we have not been delivering everything that is necessary to one another, that at times one is ashamed to look people in the eye," the Ukrainian premier continued. He proposed to Kyrgyzstan that they not only restore all the economic, trade and scientific and technical ties that existed before, but also expand them significantly. "We must show an example which, perhaps, other countries of the commonwealth will follow, including mighty Russia [velikaya Rossiya]," Kuchma said. On the subject of Ukrainian-Russian relations, the prime minister said: "I think that we will come to an agreement with Russia. Nobody needs a blockade. We of course do not wish to be hangers-on, but I think that Russia also understands that the present advantage can later turn into significant losses."

President Askar Akayev stated that Kyrgyzstan "is in the mood for the most active wave of cooperation with Ukraine." He is interested in particular in joint development of the coal base, hydropower engineering, microelectronics, the creation of joint enterprises, and the training in Ukraine of highly qualified specialist cadres.

Spokesman Says Akayev To Keep Bread Prices Low

OW2302164693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1546 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev will not change his policy of keeping bread prices at a low level, his spokesman Kabai Karabekov said in a statement made in connection with spontaneous demonstrations in some parts of the republic, "which threatened to develop into bread riots."

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Last week, Akayev canceled the directive of the Kyrgyz Committee on Prices and Anti-Monopoly Policy freeing the bread prices, which, as a result, trebled on February 16. This had a particularly strong effect on larger families, students, and other poorer population categories. The President accused the authors of the measure of "political irresponsibility."

"Provision of the population with bread has been, is, and will be a political problem. Tampering with it means playing with fire," Karabekov says in his statement. He stresses that the authorities which decided to put up the bread prices were perfectly aware of the fact that the republic's population had been through a difficult winter and had no stocks of food left. Besides, the Labor and Social Security Ministry was late with the enforcement of Akayev's decree raising wages, pensions, student grants, and various allowances.

By canceling the committee's directive, the President averted a social upheaval in the republic, his spokesman says. Today officials in charge of bread supplies say they were forced to raise the prices since the purchase prices for wheat had doubled or trebled. "What hurts those officials most in the presidential decree is the fact that Askar Akayev describes their actions as showing political irresponsibility," Karabekov says.

He also says the committee issued its directive while the Prime Minister was away, that it did not give proper consideration to the measure and did not consult any other government bodies about it. All those who had anything to do with it should be taken to task, Karabekov says.

IF Note: The President has already dismissed the General Director of the Kyrgyz Bread Association and reprimanded the Chairman of the Committee on Prices and Anti-Monopoly Policy.

Government Blamed for Confusion

PM2402112993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Ryabushkin report: "There Will Be No Bread Revolt"]

[Text] Bishkek—A few days ago there was a sharp increase in the price of bread in Kyrgyzstan—by 100-200 percent. Now the president has issued an edict canceling the unpopular decree of the republic's State Committee for Prices and Antimonopoly Policy.

The president's document declares that this price hike, which has serious social and political consequences and has caused a sharp deterioration in the material position of broad sections of the population—particularly pensioners, large families, and students—was implemented without being agreed with the republic's government. Local newspapers have been published with front-page banner headlines: "There Will Be No Bread Revolt" and "President Says: Hands Off Bread."

If you analyze A. Akayev's edict you can draw the following conclusions. There are certain forces in Kyrgyzstan which intend to use such provocations to destabilize the situation in the republic and to blame the government for everything. This is not the first time. At the Supreme Soviet session one month ago the prime minister declared that Vice President F. Kulov had sold Tajikistan a large consignment of weapons without his knowledge.

It seems that the whole trouble lies in the government itself, where the mechanism of state management has been totally messed up, and the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing. An increase in bread prices is a real, inevitable measure for the republic. Foreign grain suppliers have increased their prices, and transport costs and fuel have gone up. But there is no money for a subsidy. It is ridiculous to blame the State Prices Committee for everything. It is too obvious a scapegoat. The government and the relevant sectors which did not procure the necessary quantity of grain in good time are to blame.

Tajikistan

Armed Forces To Fulfill 'Defensive Tasks'

LD2302164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Dushanbe February 23 TASS—"Creating our own armed forces, we do not intend to attack anybody. We want to live in peace with all neighbouring states. The Tajik Armed Forces are being established to fulfill defensive tasks," Republican Defence Minister Aleksandr Shishlyannikov said this Tuesday [23 February].

"They should be small but mobile and armed with the latest material."

The minister spoke at a military parade in Dushanbe devoted to Tajik Armed Forces Day which is marked for the first time. Cadets of the Tajik Higher Military Engineering College took the oath of allegiance here. They were congratulated by Tajik Parliament Speaker Imamali Rakhmonov. He assured cadets that authorities will do their best to ensure good life for servicemen and normal conditions for military service.

"The establishment of Tajik Armed Forces will lay down a firm foundation to implement humane ideas of our people and will ensure peaceful work and the return to normal life in our republic," Rakhmonov said.

Rakhmonov: CIS Peacekeepers To Enter 25-26 Feb

LD2402123993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 24 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 24 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Four battalions of CIS peacekeeping forces should enter Tajikistan around 25-26 February and be sent to the area of the Tajik-Afghan border, Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, has said. He was speaking at an extraordinary session of the parliamentary presidium and Council of Ministers today which examined the situation in the region and ways of stabilizing it.

Imamali Rakhmonov rejected rumors of a major offensive on Dushanbe allegedly being prepared for 5 March from the Ramit Gorge, pointing out that the gorge is reliably under the control of government forces. At the same time, it was noted that the situation in the region around the Pamirs remained difficult. Government troops are gradually dislodging the armed groups and the confiscation of weapons continues. Measures are being taken to halt the supply of weapons to the guerrillas from the Pamirs, where, in the words of the Tajik leader, they still have many supporters.

The local authorities of Garmskiy, Komsomolabadskiy, and Tajikabadskiy rayons of the Pamir region, who have often declared their support for the republic's present leadership, but who in fact have been pandering to the armed opposition, have accused the head of the republic of having a hypocritical and double-dealing policy and have hoisted Islamic flags above the rayon executive committee buildings.

Details have emerged of the tragic death of participants in a landing party of the People's Front of Tajikistan during the seizure of the rayon center of Garm by government troops several days ago. All 118 people were stripped naked and shot after the local authorities and residents welcomed them with bread and salt.

The crime situation in Dushanbe and its outskirts remains extremely serious, said Imamali Rakhmonov. In the last few days, the law-enforcement bodies have disarmed 80 large and small armed groupings which were engaged in robbery, burglary, and the murder of civilians, pretending to be soldiers of the People's Front of Tajikistan. In Kafarnihonskiy rayon, such groups even had armored vehicles in their possession.

At the session, measures were taken to provide the rayons liberated from opposition groups with food and basic necessities. A convoy of over 100 trucks will depart for Komsomolabadskiy rayon and several drops of food supplies are being prepared for the rayon center of Garm.

Pro-Government, Opposition Forces Battling in Garm Region

OW2402115293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Battles for position raged on Wednesday [24 February] between pro-government and opposition forces in the Garm region of Tajikistan, which lies east of Dushanbe. Anti-government forces had the city of Garm and the surrounding regions under continuous fire; these forces were driven out of these areas two days ago.

Sources in the National Security Committee of Tajikistan report the presence of Afghan mojahedin and citizens "of non-Tajik nationality from other CIS states" among the opposition forces.

The region of armed conflict was visited on Tuesday by a Tajik government delegation which tried to organize negotiations with opposition fighters. The results of the efforts are not yet known. Accurate reports of casualties have not yet been supplied by official sources, though it was noted that both sides suffered losses.

Opposition 'Still Dangerous;' Offensive Threat 'Minimal'

OW2302211893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The real losses to Tajik government forces during fighting against the armed opposition in the Garm Valley and the Ramit Canyon northeast of Dushanbe "were not major," but so far there are is no specific information. Saydamir Zukhurov, chairman of Tajikistan's National Security Committee, told this to Interfax.

He reported that some opposition fighters are hiding in mountain villages and "are definitely still dangerous." Zukhurov said the government forces were continuing military operations. He added that it was difficult to name a specific date when the operations would cease, but said he presumed it would be in less than a month.

Zukhurov said the threat of an offensive by the armed opposition was minimal, and that "there is no longer any basis for its success in the republic."

The head of the national security committee also reported that in recent days in the Faizabad Region east of Dushanbe, law enforcement forces confiscated 450 firearms, 3 machine guns, and a great deal of explosives and ammunition.

Government Continues Operations Against Opposition

LD2302180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1733 GMT 22 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galian Gridneva]

[Excerpt] Dushanbe, 22 Feb—Government formations in Tajikistan that have gained control over a number of areas near the Pamir region, where the main forces of the opposition had been concentrated, are continuing to neutralize and disarm individual groupings scattered in remote valleys in the mountains. The National Army is supported by military aircraft, which, a military official admitted, have been placed at the disposal of Tajikistan by "one of the neighboring countries, in accordance with the treaty on collective security."

At the same time, the same source categorically refuted claims spread by leaders of the opposition and some mass media about the participation in military actions of the forces of the 201st Russian Motorized Rifle Division by pointing out that the role of the Russian servicemen is limited to maintaining public order in the Tajikistan capital, guarding important strategic installations, and escorting food convoys to the liberated areas of Tajikistan. For example, yesterday and today, in his words, food was sent, with cover from Russian armored vehicles, to two such rayons—Tavil-Darinskiy and Garmskiy—the population of which are on the verge of hunger because of a two-month blockade.

The sociopolitical situation in the republic's capital remains relatively calm and, according to an assurance from the official authorities, the situation here is reliably controlled by the law-enforcement bodies. At the same time, to avoid possible acts of provocation and attempts by individual armed groupings to infiltrate the city, the guarding of all approaches to the capital has been stepped up with additional armored groups, and a landing force of government troops has been sent to the Varzob ravine, which lies close to the northwestern outskirts. [passage omitted]

Afghan-Based 'Saboteurs' Said Preparing To Cross Border

LD2402103793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Fighters from Afghanistan are preparing mass penetration into Tajik territory, a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent reports, citing reliable sources close to the Border Troops Directorate. The fighters, former residents of Tajikistan, are trained at eight special camps in the border regions of Afghanistan. There are plans to train up to 20,000 saboteurs by this spring. As for border guards, they have to rely chiefly upon

themselves, the newspaper notes. Border troop units are manned at just 60 percent of their full strength at most.

Commentary Criticizes Foreign Reporting of Events

LD2302223793 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, these days the people of Tajikistan have precise information through the mass media on the political and social situation in the republic. Following the end of inconclusive negotiations, the government forces have begun operations during the past two days in the Ramit Gorge. As a result, the antigovernment forces were pushed out of their positions and the Komsolabad, Tajikabad, Garm, Jirgatol, Tavildara, and Navabad rayons and the Ramit Gorge were cleared of the enemies of the nation.

The foreign mass media are publishing reports and articles on this subject that creates doubt in people's minds. Radio Liberty broadcast a report, quoting REUTER, which despite containing many lies and fabrications against the legal government of the republic, has again shown the true face of the opposition.

The report says that the Republic of Uzbekistan is directly interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan, that the aircraft of Uzbekistan have allegedly attacked the positions of antigovernment forces forcing them to take refuge in the mountains, and that the government in Uzbekistan is extremely worried by the spread of Islamic fundamentalism and thus providing assistance to the Government of Tajikistan.

Tajikistan is one of the republics of the CIS. This does not mean that our state does not have air forces, and that the aircraft should definitely have come from Uzbekistan. However, we know that the aim of these Muslim fundamentalists is to sow discord among nations. From the first day when they came to power by shedding the blood of the Tajik people, sowing discord was their deed. They declared other nationalities in Tajikistan to be hostages. They want to repeat these ugly deeds today when the people have turned their backs on them.

Radio Liberty quotes Nasrullo Khojayev, a commander of the antigovernment forces, as saying: The mountains are our friends. We are familiar with every route and every hideout in them. I never recall the weather being so good at this time of the year. This year God will be with us.

Nasrullo, like the Afghan rebels, wears a hat and mentions the name of Afghanistan with pride. He said that he had been to Afghanistan on many occasions with the aim of acquiring arms. See for yourself: Nasrullo mentions with pride the name of a republic from where he was getting weapons from to kill his nation. [passage omitted]

The report also quotes Rezvan, a leader of the antigovernment forces, saying that he would fight against the Russian and Uzbek forces: We will fight them until they are in our homeland. I wish to see a republic like the Islamic Republic of Iran in Tajikistan.

Such are the words of a person who regards himself as a Muslim leader and regards anyone who is not from his region as an infidel. He is one of the traitors who shouted that their aim was to create a democratic republic. Today, someone who has been cursed by the people, desires a republic like that of Iran. It is obvious from this that they wanted to import the Islamic Revolution of Iran to our republic and to annihilate all those who oppose their aspirations. They were prepared to destroy the Tajik nation for their aims, kill millions of people, and to make rivers out of the blood of the Tajik people.

Thank God thousands and thousands of times that justice triumphed and we arrived at this day [words indistinct]. There is always hope from the bottom of despair and dawn will end the dark night. Thank God that the dark night ended with a dawn.

Defense Minister, Security Chiefs Promoted

LD2302133393 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0400 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] By decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, Defense Minister Colonel Shishlyannikov has been given the military rank of major general; Internal Affairs Minister Colonel Salimov has been given the special rank of major general of the Internal Service; and Colonel Zukhurov, chairman of the republic's State Committee for National Security, has also been made major general. All the decrees have been signed by President Rakhmonov.

Russian Soldiers Mark 'Defenders of the Fatherland Day'

LD2302132993 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0400 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] A solemn meeting of servicemen from the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division billeted in Tajikistan has been held at the Dushanbe garrison House of Officers. The meeting was dedicated to Defenders of the Fatherland Day which is being marked on 23 February in the Russian Federation.

A report was delivered by Major General Ashurov, the division commander. He stressed, in particular, that the process of combat training and personnel training is stabilizing in units today. They are being brought up to strength and switching to carrying out their service on a contract basis. The division commander said that at the most difficult times for Tajikistan the servicemen of the division guarded some of the most important installations of the national economy and rendered assistance to the population. Troops of the division, together with the

Tajik Army, see their task as being to prevent aggression from outside and further to improve their high level of combat readiness.

On behalf of the leadership of Tajikistan, Ubaydullayev, deputy chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers, congratulated the servicemen on their festival, Defenders of the Fatherland Day. He told the troops about the actions of the republic's leadership aimed at stabilizing the socio-political situation and establishing peace in all areas as well as observance of legality and law and order and seeking ways of extricating the republic from economic crisis. He spoke highly of the role of the Russian division, whose troops guarded several major industrial installations in the republic. He also announced that the government has allocated 2 million rubles to make incentive payments to servicemen carrying out this task.

Orders and medals of the Russian Federation were presented at the solemn meeting to a group of officers, warrant officers, soldiers and sergeants. They were presented with these awards by decree of the president of Russia for courage and bravery.

Uzbekistan

Further on Karimov Meeting With UK Ambassador

OW2302172493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Islam Karimov emphasized the need to create a legal base for efficient broad-scale and long-term cooperation between Uzbekistan and Great Britain at a meeting with Mr. Brian Fall, the British Ambassador in Tashkent, on Monday [22 February]. The head of state proposed a working group of specialists from both countries to be set up to draft a package of agreements on the principles of mutual relations, the encouragement and protection of investment, the development of transport and communications, and banking.

The president was of the view that these documents would form the guarantee for the encouragement of mutually beneficial ties between Uzbek and British businessmen.

Karimov expressed his regret over the delay in opening the British Embassy in Tashkent. The British ambassador informed the president of a decision by London to open a diplomatic mission in the Uzbek capital very shortly. The ambassador shared Karimov's view that Great Britain had displayed "a degree of sluggishness" in developing relations with Uzbekistan.

He expressed his certainty that this situation would soon change.

Mr. Fall passed a personal message from Prime Minister John Major to the Uzbek president.

Silver Production Set To Triple

LD2302184793 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1159 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Uzbekistan's geologists have prepared three deposits of silver ore for industrial assimilation in the central Kyzylkums. Previously this metal has been extracted as a byproduct during the processing of other ores. Veins of actual silver have now been discovered from which gold, platinum, cobalt, and nickel will be extracted as byproducts. Specialists reckon that in the very near future Uzbekistan's silver production may triple. To judge from what geologists have discovered, the republic is promising to turn into a veritable treasure trove. Deposits of wolfram, fluorites, phosphorites, and celestine ore have been discovered. Strontium, which is used in the electronics industry, is extracted from celestine. Titanomagnetite deposits have also been found.

Armenia

Forces on 'Northern Shores' of Sarsang Reservoir

NC2302150193 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY reported that fierce battles have been going on since yesterday on the battlefront in Mardakertskiy Rayon. Armenian self-defense detachments continued their counteroffensive and moved toward the northern shores of Sarsang reservoir. The enemy subunits retreated after suffering substantial losses in man and material.

As previously reported, Azerbaijani Army units launched a large-scale attack against border villages in Askeranskiy Rayon. The enemy also subjected Armenian positions to artillery and howitzer fire, which came mainly from the Shelli military base in Agdamskiy Rayon. The Armenian freedom-fighters halted and repulsed the Azerbaijani attacks. They then entered Shelli, where they neutralized the enemy's firing positions. The forces later withdrew to their original positions. Preliminary reports indicate casualties on both sides.

Positional exchange of fire took place near Kochaz, to the north of Lachin humanitarian corridor, last night. A relative calm currently prevails along the humanitarian corridor. Traffic is continuing unimpeded.

New Premier's Promarket Orientation, Immediate Tasks

PM1902152393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 93 p 1

[Sergey Bablumyan profile: "New Armenian Premier Favors Market"]

[Text] Yerevan—Grant Bagratyan has become the latest prime minister of the republic, the fourth in the last two years.

The 35-year-old head of the Armenian Government has already had the chance to show what he is made of in a major job, having been the republic's first vice premier and economic affairs minister for the last two years. He is actively committed to the new Armenian market-oriented economic model, of which he is one of the main designers.

Even the most fervent opponents of Bagratyan's proclaimed course have to acknowledge the current premier's consistency and steadfastness. In this respect some observers compare him to Russian ex-Premier Yegor Gaydar, vesting the analogy with a purely positive sense.

It is no secret to anyone in Armenia that the new head of government will very soon have to defend the republic social development program rejected by parliament. Nor will it be easy for him to muster a team around him when the leading opposition parties have failed to respond to President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's proposal that they submit their own candidates for ministerial posts.

European Bank Allocates $59.4 Million in Credit

OW1902193893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1410 GMT 19 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has allocated $59.4 Mn [million] dollars for Armenia as a credit for the development of its energy industry.

According to the Armenian government's press service, the agreement on the credit, whose repayment has to be started in four years' time, was signed in London by Armenian State Minister Sepukh Tashyan, who returned to Yerevan on Thursday [19 February].

The credit will mainly be spent on the completion of the construction of the fifth generating unit of the Razdan State Regional Power Station.

Amount of Gas Increasing After Pipeline Explosion

OW2302185693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The amount of gas being supplied to Armenia is increasing after a pipeline which was damaged in an explosion on February 19 in Georgia's Marneuli Region was restored Sunday [21 February]. The Armenian Ministry of Fuel and Energy told Interfax that in the past few days 2 Mn [million] cubic meters of fuel have gotten through to the republic, which has a minimum demand of 7.5 Mn cubic meters.

The gas is being supplied only to support energy needs.

Deputy Foreign Minister Departs for Georgia

NC2302153793 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] First Deputy Foreign Minister Arman Kirakosyan departed for Tbilisi today for a working visit and a meeting with Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze. The two will discuss the furthering of multifaceted bilateral relations and preparations for the meeting of the leaders of both countries.

Reporters believe the presidents of Georgia and Armenia may meet in two weeks. Kirakosyan's visit to Tbilisi confirms that this meeting has not been deleted from the agenda, and diplomatic-level work is continuing in that direction. A concrete timetable for such a meeting can only be discussed following Kirakosyan's return.

Russian Humanitarian Aid Distributed on Front Line

LD2202234193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 93

[D. Pisarenko video report; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Ninety tonnes of humanitarian aid allocated by the Russian Government is arriving in Armenia in batches. On the initiative of the Russian Federation Embassy in Armenia, one-third of the goods have already been sent to residents of the republic's frontline Krasnoselskiy Rayon, escorted by Russian soldiers. Vladimir Stupishin, an envoy from Russia, visited the area on the eve of the new year. The rest will be distributed among refugees from Azerbaijan, Patriotic War veterans, and children from orphanages.

It is well known that there is a large Russian community in Krasnoselsk. But lately, the numbers have been declining because of continued shelling by Azerbaijani artillery.

In accordance with an intergovernmental accord, Russian Air Force aircraft will fly 150 old people, children, and women to Moscow. Eighty-five people have already left their homeland.

Azerbaijan

Defense Ministry Updates Fighting 23 Feb

NC2302181393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry's Analytical Information Center issued the following communique today:

We have already reported the clashes that took place in Agdamskiy and Khodzhavendskiy Rayons yesterday. Our troops hit and disabled an enemy tank and forced the enemy to retreat in clashes near Shilli in Agdamskiy Rayon. Our military sub-units carried out combat operations in Khodzhavendskiy Rayon and placed the Mergiztepe height there under their control yesterday.

Although the intensity of the clashes diminished along the entire frontline last night, exchanges of artillery fire took place in various parts of the battlefront. The military situation in Agderinskiy Rayon has not changed significantly. Our artillery units fired on enemy positions near Mekhmana. Meanwhile, positional fighting continued near Khramort. Our artillery units in Fizulinskiy Rayon stopped an enemy attack on our positions on Kyzylkaya heights. An enemy tank was destroyed and two armored vehicles were disabled by precision shelling.

The border areas in Kedabakskiy, Zangelanskiy, and Akstafa Rayons and [placename indistinct] in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic were fired on last night. The situation in [words indistinct] was peaceful.

Troops Engaged in Trench Warfare Near Mardakert

OW2402114493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Yesterday [23 February], Armenian and Azerbaijani troops passed over to trench warfare in Karabakh's Mardakert region, informed sources report from Yerevan. According to the same sources, Armenians continue to control the Sarsang hydroelectric station, including the dam on the Sarsang water reservoir.

The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry reports that the Azerbaijani army checked the Armenian troops' offensive in the Mardakert region which had continued since the beginning of February.

The same source reports that an Armenian attack was rebuffed in the Agdam direction. During combat operations an Armenian tank and armored personnel carrier were destroyed.

Baku reports that on the night February 23, many of Azerbaijan's border villages were shelled, including the border village of Kilik in the Nakhichevan Autonomous republic which was shelled for the first time in several weeks. Some of the buildings were destroyed. No reports about casualties have arrived yet.

Yerevan alleges that two villages in Armenia's Goris and Taush regions were shelled.

Delegation Departs for CSCE Talks on Karabakh in Rome

Armenians Not To Represent Karabakh

NC2002160993 Baku TURAN in English 1006 GMT 20 Feb 93

[Text] Baku 20 Feb (TURAN)—The Azeri delegation left this morning to Italy for participation in the work of Rome meeting.

On the eve, the Armenian sources spread the information on invitation of the delegation of Armenians of Karabakh as the authority of Karabakh for this meeting.

On the words of the chief of press-service of the Azeri Ministry of Foreign Affairs Rovshan Dzhamshidov this information does not correspond to reality, because identical invitation was accepted also by the Azeri side—chairman of the executive power of the town of Shusha Nizami Bakhmanov. Dzhamshidov marked that the mandate of the CSCE from March 24 of 1992 year remains valid in accordance with which representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijani population of the upper Karabakh has the status of representatives of communes.

Foreign Minister Participates

OW2302022493 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Feb 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] Tofik Gasymov, the Azerbaijani foreign minister, flew to Rome on 20 February to participate in the closed five-sided working meeting, according to the Geneva formula of five plus one. The meeting is scheduled for 26 February to 2 March, and ways to regulate the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict are to be discussed there. While informing the correspondent of KHABAR-SERVICE of this, the republic's Foreign Ministry added that representatives of the United States, Turkey, Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Italy were also to participate in the meeting. The Italian side will be represented by Mario Raffaelli, chairman of the Minsk conference on Nagorno-Karabakh within the framework of the CSCE.

Kamberov Denies Rumors of Interior Minister's Dismissal

NC2302201493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Rumors that the leader of yet another influential establishment in the republic—that is, Minister of Internal Affairs Iskender Khamidov—has been removed have not been confirmed. Replying to questions asked by deputies during today's National Assembly session, Chairman Isa Kamberov said the minister is currently at his office and heading his ministry with the president's approval.

Presidential Edict Names New Military Leaders

NC2302145693 Baku TURAN in English 1133 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Baku, 23 Feb (TURAN)—By edict of the supreme commander-in-chief by armed forces of the country President of the Republic Abulfaz Elchibey, Colonel Najmeddin Sadikhov is given the rank of major-general and he is appointed the commander-in-chief of the First Corps of the Azerbaijani Army. Earlier this post was held by Dadash Rizayev, appointed the minister of defence. By the same edict Commander-in-Chief of the Second Corps Suret Guseynov is relieved of his post.

A number of political organizations with the popular front in the head two weeks ago demanded to make Guseynov answer for defeats on the north of Karabakh.

Nakhichevan Parliament Head Falls Ill, Goes to Moscow

NC1902215993 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 16 Feb 93 p 15

[Text] Moscow (A.A.)—Geydar Aliyev, head of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Assembly, is reported to have arrived in Moscow after suddenly falling ill. No disclosure has been made regarding the illness. Preparations made for his party's congress have been postponed due to the illness.

President Praises Religious, Cultural Ties to Iran

LD2202203093 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] In an interview, the president of Azerbaijan has lauded the Islamic Republic of Iran, adding that religious and cultural attachments between the peoples of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Azerbaijan Republic will strengthen the two countries' relations.

Abulfaz Aliyev [name as heard] said: In my opinion, the basis of Iran's Islamic government consists of freedom, faith, respect for human rights, progress, and democracy, which arise from the endeavors of its leadership. He said: We, too, would like to understand our nation, just as they have, and by benefiting from genuine Islamic culture, to strengthen the foundations and bases of our country's independence.

Azerbaijan's president, who was speaking to the correspondent of the Central News Unit after meeting with the governor general of East Azerbaijan in Baku, said in connection with his country's future programs: The policy of the Azerbaijan Republic is based on the expansion of Islamic culture, the establishment of democracy, and the preservation of independence; on this principle, we share a common factor with the Islamic Republic of Iran. This can open the way for the expansion of bilateral relations.

Delegation To Attend Black Sea Council Meeting

NC2302163093 Baku TURAN in English 1318 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Baku, 23 Feb (TURAN)—Tomorrow the Azeri delegation with Speaker of the Parliament Isa Kamberov in the head will left for Turkey for participation in the work of Interparliament Council of the countries of the Black Sea basin.

The chairman of the parliamentary commission by external relations Yusif Samed Ogly in his talk with the TURAN correspondent said that the main aim of the meeting is to accept the charter of this organization. He also informed that the group of the Azeri representatives taken part in the working out of the project of the charter was in Turkey three weeks ago. By words of Yusif Samed Ogly the council of the countries of the Black Sea basin is too democratical organization which any state may join. Widening of economical relations between countries and participation in settlement of regional conflicts by political methods remain priorities of this organization.

Turkish Ambassador on Relations With Yerevan, Baku

NC1902194193 Baku TURAN in English 1409 GMT 19 Feb 93

[Text] Baku, 19 Feb (TURAN)—Ambassador of Turkey in Azerbaijan Altan Karamanoglu in his talk with the TURAN correspondent said that Turkey connects the issue on settlement of diplomatical relations with Armenia with a number of conditions. First of all it is connected with the ceasing of the war with Azerbaijan and justice settlement of the problem. By the ambassador's words only after this it will be possible to realize the process of settlement of diplomatical relations between two countries.

The present position of Turkey marked by Altan Karamanoglu differs greatly by mildness towards Armenia. If earlier Turkey spoke of ceasing of the Armenian agression against Azerbaijan, now it speaks on "justice settlement of the problem."

Change of the position of "the most reliable ally" of Azerbaijan is taken in Baku with unsatisfaction. Political figures of Azerbaijan consider that the course of these changes is the following redivision of spheres of influence, taken place between Washington, Ankara and Moscow.

Elchibey, French Envoy Discuss Issues of Mutual Interest

NC1902142793 Baku TURAN in English 1008 GMT 19 Feb 93

[Text] Baku, 19 Feb (TURAN)—The President of the Republic Abulfaz Elchibey accepted yesterday at the second half of the day the ambassador of France in Azerbaijan Jean Perrene. [name as received]

According to the information of the press-service of the president, issues representing mutual interest were discussed in the course of the meeting.

Jean Perrene assured the president that the Government of France recognizes the integrity of Azerbaijan and will come forward against changes of the existed frontiers. The ambassador said also that at the present moment the official Paris undertakes certain measures aimly to abolish the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia on annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

Issues on rendering Azerbaijan humanitarian aid were also discussed on the meeting.

Georgia

Parliament Dubious on Communique With Russia

OW2302204193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian MPs took a dim view of the joint communique on the Russo-Georgian negotiations in Tbilisi on February 18. In particular, the clause which calls for resolving the Abkhazian conflict in the framework of the 1992 Russo-Georgian accords "with the new circumstances taken into account" is seen by the MPs as surrender of Gagry, Leselize, and Gandiadi to Abkhazians.

Parliament Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze admitted that the wording of the communique had not been agreed on and did not reflect the essence of the negotiations attended by the head of state, prime-minister, and MPs. The Georgian delegation, said he, had to sign the draft proposed by the Russians. "This demonstrates our poor organization and coordination and lack of sound tactics," he said.

Shevardnadze called for continuing negotiations with Russia until an all-round treaty is worked out, despite Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's statement about Russia's strategic interests in Abkhazia and Adzharistan. Shevardnadze wanted to hear the views of MPs on the negotiations. He said, however, that he would have to resign "if the Parliament denounces the Georgian leadership's policy vis-a-vis Russia, if it thinks that Georgia does not need such relations with Russia." He made it clear that "this is a question of principle."

Sukhumi Bombing Complicates Relations With Russia

PM2402095593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 93 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Taranov and Basik Urigashvili: "Sukhumi Bombing Has Drastically Complicated Russia's Relations With Georgia"]

[Text] On the night of Saturday to Sunday [20-21 February] a Russian Army Su-25 bomber bombed Sukhumi. The press center of the Georgian command in Abkhazia reports that one person died and eight were wounded. About 10 houses were damaged.

The circumstances of the attack—because of the biased position of the conflicting sides—still needs to be amplified. While the Georgian military are speaking of a "massive missile and bomb strike against densely populated districts of the city" carried out by the Russian aircraft, Moscow and the Defense Ministry are asserting that the bomber struck only "identified combat targets" and not the civilian population at all.

A spokesman for the press center of the Georgian troops headquarters in Abkhazia reported that the Su-25 made seven attempts to deliver a missile strike against Sukhumi throughout 20 February but the Georgian air defense prevented it. The pilot managed to launch missiles against the city only after his eighth pass at 2300 hours under cover of darkness.

There are also differences in interpretation over who precisely suffered from this action. On the evening of 21 February the press center of the Georgian Embassy in Moscow announced that Tengiz Pachkoriya—a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent—had been wounded. Reports from Sukhumi mention the death of Bochiy Pachkoriya—"the father of the well-known Georgian journalist." Consequently, it may be supposed that the bomb fell on the apartment of the Pachkoriya family.

But however that may be what was supposed to happen did happen: The Russian Army units stationed in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict (war), who had hitherto maintained official neutrality, began to "show their hand"—not only defending themselves but also attacking.

Of course the Georgian politicians are interpreting this role of the Russians unambiguously—as support for the Abkhazians in the war against the Georgians. The dust had not settled from the houses destroyed by the aerial bombs before Irakliy Batiashvili, the leader of the Georgian information and intelligence service, stated on television that "if Russia actively helps the Abkhazian extremists" then it will have a new Afghanistan in Georgia."

Meanwhile Eduard Shevardnadze and Tengiz Sigua are flying to Sukhumi and on the site of the bomb attack are calling the Russian troops' action "barbaric."

It is not ruled out that Georgia will send an official protest to the Russian Government and will raise the question of the direct intervention by the neighboring state's armed forces in the internal Georgian conflict on the side of the separatist forces which in the language of international law means an attempt to destroy the sovereign state's territorial integrity. It is true that the Georgian leaders seem to be overlooking the main question: Why did the Russian bomber suddenly take off on a combat mission?

I think that a perfectly reasonable reply is given by the Russian Federation Defense Ministry: It was a response to the Georgian side's repeated shooting, throughout 20 February, of the Russian airborne units in the village of Eshery. The Russian Armed Forces command repeatedly warned that it would resolutely defend its men in the zone of any conflicts, including in Abkhazia. And it is defending its men, using the only possible means in such situations. The death of civilians is an inevitable consequence of wars waged in densely populated rayons and cities.

What the Russian airborne troops are doing near Sukhumi is another matter.

It is known that during the third round of the Russian-Georgian talks in Tbilisi agreement was reached on the withdrawal of this troops unit from Abkhazia within six days, but the agreement was not actually fulfilled.

The Georgian side categorically denies that it shelled this unit. The attempt to justify the missile air strike on residential regions of Sukhumi is cynical to say the least, the Georgian command's statement says.

By the morning of 22 February the Russian military had put forward the story that the aircraft belonged to the armed forces of the Confederation of Caucasus Peoples. The absurdity of that statement can be assessed at its worth by anyone who is in the slightest degree familiar with the situation in the conflict zone. First, the appearance of Su-25 bombers in the possession of the confederation's armed forces is a sensation on an enormous scale. Second, the aircraft could only take off from Bombora airfield, which is totally controlled by the Russian military.

For all the differences in the explanation of events in Sukhumi, the participants in the conflict and outside observers note unanimously that the new Su-25 attack has struck a painful blow to Russian-Georgian relations which have become more aggravated now than at any time in the past 150 years.

Foreign Ministry Protests Air Attack on Sukhumi

OW2302180193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's foreign minister on Tuesday [23 February] forwarded a note of protest over the air attack on residential areas of Sukhumi on February 20 to the Vladimir Zemskiy, the Georgian ambassador to Russia. The foreign ministry described the incident as an "act of provocation and gross interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia, the consequences of which will inevitably have bearing on the state of relations between Georgia and Russia." The ministry demanded an urgent and thorough investigation into the incident and punishment for those responsible by the Russian side.

One person was killed and 13 injured as a result of the air attack which, according to the note, was carried out by two Russian Air Force Su-25's.

The Georgian foreign ministry rejected the Russian defense ministry's statement of February 21 that the attack had been made in retaliation for the shelling of Russian army sub-divisions stationed in the village of Nizhnaya Esheri by Georgian units. "In actual fact neither on February 19 nor on February 20 did Georgian troops shell the Russian subdivision," the document read.

Tamaz Nadareyshviliy, the head of Abkhazia's pro-Tbilisi government, made a protest over the air attack to the command of the Russian army unit stationed in Gudauta. He claimed that not 13 but 50 people were injured as a result of the bombing.

Nadareishviliy's statement emphasized that the Russian side, which had at first said that the attack had been carried out in retaliation for the shelling of a military laboratory in Nizhnaya Esheri, had disassociated itself from the incident after its tragic consequences had come to light.

Nadareishviliy was of the view that the Russian command in Gudauta was aiming through these activities to break off the dialogue between Georgia and Russia.

Artillery, Rocket Fire Reported

OW2402115493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1131 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Intensive artillery exchanges including multiple rocket launcher fire continued on the Gumista front near Sukhumi last night [23 February], both the Abkhazian and Georgian defense ministries have reported.

Gudauta has said that the Abkhazians eliminated one tank, a truck, two machine-gun emplacements and one Georgian army observation point without losing a man.

The Georgian defense ministry said that three Georgians had been wounded.

Tbilisi also said that a Russian military helicopter had flown above Georgian positions on Tuesday evening. This had retreated after warning fire from the ground and headed for Gudauta.

Abkhazian sources said that fighting had also continued in the Ochamchira region during the last twenty four hours. Georgian attempts to launch an offensive were thwarted.

Ethnic Azeris Deny Responsibility for Destroying Gasline

OW2402120793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1131 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Geirat, an association of ethnic Azeris living in Georgia's Marneuli District, on Wednesday [24 February] published a statement denying that the district's Azeris had anything to do with the recent explosions on the pipeline supplying natural gas to Armenia.

The explosions, the statement says, were engineered by "politicians seeking to set the Georgians against the Azeris living in Georgia and create another hot spot in the republic."

Geirat will be trying to find out who stood behind the explosions, which "will serve to strengthen friendship between Georgians, Azeris, and Armenians populating Marneuli District."

Parliament Creates State Constitutional Commission

AU2302141693 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 17 Feb 93 p 1

[Decrees of the Georgian Parliament on the Creation of a State Constitutional Commission and on the Election of Eduard Shevardnadze as Chairman of the State Constitutional Commission issued in Tbilisi on 16 February]

[Text]

Decree of the Georgian Parliament on the Creation of a State Constitutional Commission

The elaboration and adoption of a text of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia is an essential condition for the full independence of Georgia, the existence and development of the modern Georgian state, and for democratic construction.

With this aim, the Georgian Parliament **decrees:**

1. To create a state constitutional commission on the elaboration of a new version of the Georgian Constitution of 1921.

2. To elect the chairman of the State Constitutional Commission according to the procedure provided for in Articles 22 and 28-30 of the Provisional Regulations of the Georgian Parliament.

3. To entrust the chairman of the State Constitutional Commission to submit the composition of the commission to Parliament for ratification after consultations with the chairmen of the Georgian Parliament's standing commissions and factions and the members of Parliament.

4. To entrust the Georgian State Constitutional Commission to present a new draft version of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia by December 1993.

5. The State Constitutional Commission is accountable before the Georgian Parliament and will systematically report on the progress of work on the new draft version of its Constitution.

Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament.

Tbilisi, **16 February 1993.**

Decree of the Georgian Parliament on the Election of Eduard Shevardnadze as Chairman of the State Constitutional Commission

The Georgian Parliament **decrees:**

To elect **Eduard Shevardnadze,** chairman of the Georgian Parliament-head of state, as chairman of the State Constitutional Commission for the elaboration of a new version of the Georgian Constitution of 1921.

Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament.

Tbilisi, **16 February 1993.**

Government Takes Measures To Ease Economic Plight

LD1902184193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Feb 93

[Telephone report by the IPRINDA agency correspondent Galina Nidashvili from Tbilisi]

[Text] While the Georgian Government is attempting to find ways to extricate the republic from its economic crisis, the population is experiencing all the difficulties of the period of transition from an administrative economic system to a market economy. A shortage of goods in the state trading system and an abundance of them in commercial shops and on the black market, but at prices inaccessible to most of the population, has become the norm.

The cabinet of ministers has taken a number of measures to overcome the food crisis. For example, 4,000 tonnes of granulated sugar was purchased in Britain in order to introduce the rationed sale of sugar at a firm state price. Starting from February, and for six months, each resident of the republic will receive a quota of 1 kilogram of sugar each month for 175 rubles [R]. In Belgium, the Georgian Government has purchased 7 million liters of sunflower oil. Understandably, all these transfusions into the state trading system are but a drop in the ocean and they cannot solve all the problems of Georgia's inhabitants.

The average monthly wage in the republic at present is R2,500 while according to experts' calculations each of Georgia's inhabitants needs a minimum of R12,000 for food alone each month. In February, compared with the previous month, prices rose by 7 percent on average, and all the signs are that this trend will continue. Prices are increasing not only for foodstuffs but also for public services.

The state budget deficit rising is all the time. In the first quarter of 1993 alone it was R35 billion.

Apart from the purely economic reasons, the republic's economic crisis is being intensified by the material consequences of the war in Abkhazia. According to Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani, a single day of the war costs Georgia R5 million. The six-month period of hostilities has used up the republic's five-year budget.

Foreign Minister on Shevardnadze's Visit to Yerevan

OW2302175793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian First Deputy Foreign Minister Armand Kirakosyan on Tuesday [23 February] came to Tbilisi on a one-day working visit.

He had a meeting with Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze during which, according to the Georgian Foreign Ministry's press center, they discussed the forthcoming visit to Armenia of a Georgian delegation led by Eduard Shevardnadze. The date for the visit, during which more than twenty agreements are to be signed, has not yet been set.

Chikvaidze gave Kirakosyan drafts for the documents, which include a framework agreement, an agreement on cooperation between the two countries' parliaments, a customs agreement, agreements on basic principles of economic relations, and transport, communications, environmental protection, cultural, scientific, education, and sport and tourism agreements.

Kirakosyan and Chikvaidze expressed concern about the explosions on the pipeline delivering natural gas to Armenia, which had taken place in Georgia's Marneuli District. Chikvaidze, expressing regret, said Georgia would take all measures necessary to prevent such incidents in future.

Shevardnadze Meets Iranian Deputy Defense Minister

OW2002182193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1718 GMT 20 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday [20 February] Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the parliament and the head of the Georgian state, received Akbar Abar, the deputy Defense Minister of Iran. They have discussed issues concerning the prospects of bilateral cooperation in the field of military industry. The day before the Iranian delegation visited several large republican enterprises. During the conversation the parties noted that the recent visit of the Georgian governmental delegation headed by Eduard Shevardnadze to Iran has become a mighty stimulus for establishing multilateral beneficial relations with this country.

Goguadze To Attend Black Sea Parliamentary Assembly

AU2202130593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] On 23 February, Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament, is travelling to Istanbul. He will participate in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Economic Cooperation of Black Sea Countries.

As we informed you earlier, at this session of the Assembly, the parliamentary speakers of the 11 member states participating in this alliance—Albania, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Rumania, Turkey, Greece, and Ukraine—will sign the rules of procedure for the Assembly and elect its first president for a one-year term. The duties of president will subsequently be carried out by the parliamentary speakers of the member countries for one-year terms of office, and this will rotate among the countries in the order of the English alphabet.

Estonia

Foreign Ministry Declares Position Toward Russia

OW2202182093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1725 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] By refusing to return to Estonia 5% of its territory, which was annexed in the aftermath of the Second World War, Russia thereby is laying its territorial claims to our republic, the Estonian Foreign Minister, Trivimi Velliste, declared at the hearings in the republic's State Assembly on Monday [22 February].

In the words of Trivimi Velliste, the Estonian Foreign Ministry is going to solicit the CSCE chairman's cooperation in appointing a special international official to "assist in eliminating the controversy and territorial disputes between Estonia and Russia in interpreting the provisions of the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty," which outlined the border between the two countries.

As regards Russia's accusations of Estonia of human rights violations, the Estonian foreign minister charged its "eastern neighbor" with waging a willful campaign against Estonia, backed by influential political forces relying on "immense diplomatic and material resources." Mr Velliste has called for opposing this campaign on all possible levels, as well as through the mediation of various international organizations, first and foremost, the CSCE.

"The accounts presented by this agency are portraying us in favorable light, while their feedback was splendid," he said. "As regards the UN mission which recently visited Estonia, I am stating with confidence that the initiative remains in our hands," Mr Velliste observed.

The foreign minister emphasized the benefit for Estonia in "playing more actively the Finno-Ugoric card" that at the talks with Russia. "Russia is violating the human rights of the Finno-Ugoric people living on its territory," he said, "therefore the Estonian foreign ministry will do its utmost to protect them." In particular, the Estonian MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] is planning to set up in Tallinn an information bureau of the Marian El in order that this republic of the Russian Federation would be informing Western countries of the situation on its territory.

Complete Withdrawal of Russian Troops Sought

LD2302115993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1009 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Estonia's main task is to secure the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from its territory. This was stated in Helsinki by Mart Laar, Estonia's prime minister. He spoke at the local university on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Estonian independence. According to the premier, the Russian Army on the territory of the republic not only poses a threat to political and economic stability, but also causes irreparable damage to the environment. Mart Laar spoke for wider support from Western countries in reinforcing Estonia's national frontiers. Estonian estimates put the current number of Russian army servicemen in the republic at about 9,000.

'Tense' Relations With Russia Over Border

LD2302143493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 22 Feb 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste by correspondent Gunnar Paal at the Riigikogu on 22 February—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Paal] If we talk about tensions in our foreign relations then one of the definite sources of tension is our relations with our eastern neighbor.

[Velliste] Yes, of course, our relations with our eastern neighbor are tense and the causes for the tension are well known to us. There are some issues that are very much a matter of principle, like, for example, the state border between Estonia and Russia, where each country holds positions that are nearly mutually exclusive. Inasmuch as recently Estonian schools received new maps showing borders printed according to the [1920] Tartu peace treaty the maps caused a major upset in Moscow, even though the old [current] administrative borders are also marked. The Russian Government handed over a corresponding note in which Russia claims that the Tartu peace treaty has lost its validity inasmuch as the Estonian state ceased to exist in 1940.

Estonia subsequently handed over a counter-note in which she proved that the Estonian state never ceased to exist, and that the continuing recognition of Estonian independence by nearly all Western states during those 50 years serves as a confirmation of the fact. So the debate continues.

Laar on Control, Mafia Presence at Russian Bases

PM2302143893 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 21 Feb 93 p 6

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Mart Laar by Hakan Forsberg in Stockholm; date not given]

[Text] "Friday's hijacking is only yet another example of how problematic the situation is in Russia. There are masses of people there who want to move to the West to get away from it," said Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar, who immediately before the interview had learned that a Russian domestic flight had been hijacked and forced to fly to Tallinn, where it stood on the tarmac for two hours before taking off for Stockholm.

The interview with Mart Laar was shortened because he had to talk to Tallinn and give orders about what was to be done.

Laar is in Stockholm this weekend to meet with his Swedish counterpart, Carl Bildt, and to celebrate—a few days early—the 75th anniversary of Estonia as an independent state. Laar himself is the youngest prime minister which the young republic has had: a mere 32 years old. Next Monday [22 February] he will have led his coalition government—of conservatives, Social Democrats, and Estonian nationalists—for four months.

Mart Laar is very worried about developments in Russia—about the fact that the political situation is very unstable, at the same time that the economy is falling apart.

"The situation has deteriorated over the last month alone. And this means problems—and not only for Estonia."

This also affects the Russian troops' withdrawal from Estonia.

"If the political situation is so unclear, it is also very difficult to get clear-cut political decisions. That is why the withdrawal is not proceeding at the pace we would like to see."

The Estonian Government has tried to reach agreement with Moscow on a final date by which the troops—there are around 9,000 remaining—will be gone. But according to Mart Laar, the Russian have been unwilling to make any such promise—precisely because of the unclear political situation.

"But the officers at the Russian bases themselves want to go home. And they know that they must go soon, because they are destroying everything at the bases—more and more in recent weeks."

Laar is also worried that the Russian military is losing control over the arms and ammunitions stocks at the bases. As proof of how poor surveillance is he produced some recent photographs which show a store of mines in a forest; large lethal bombs lie densely packed and completely unprotected between the trunks of trees at Naissaar outside Tallinn.

"The pictures are proof of how easily people can get to these places," Mart Laar explained—adding that Carl Bildt has also been given a set of pictures.

According to Laar, the Russian bases have also become an ever growing problem in the context of crime in Estonia.

"These areas are closed to the Estonian police. That is why they are also excellent places for the mafia to keep their stockpiles and also to live."

According to Laar, the mafia has also used the harbor at Paldiski, today the almost totally abandoned Russian naval base, to load and unload contraband from vessels which enter the harbor illegally. A smaller harbor close to Tallinn is also under the control of the Russian military. And still—"but only for another two months at most"—there is an airport which is outside the Estonian Government's control.

"But we cannot enter the Russian bases. Then we could have an armed conflict—and that is something we are not interested in."

Estonia's finance minister comes from Sweden (Madis Uurike), as does the defense minister (Hain Rebas). Former Foreign Minister Jaan Manitski, a Swede, is now in charge of the privatization of state enterprises, and the deputy head of the National Bank is wholly Swedish (Bo Kragh). In addition the energy minister comes from Canada. Does it not feel a little strange to head a government continuing so many people from outside the country?

"It is very effective. If you have lived for 50 years under a totalitarian regime it is very good to have the help of Estonian exiles from the free world who have dreamed of being able to return and help Estonia with what they have learned.

"But it is of course a little difficult to understand why people leave behind a high standard of living and highly paid jobs to travel to Estonia. But they do come—and that is wonderful," Mart Laar said.

Premier Laar's Visit to Finland, Sweden Reported

LD2302170793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Premier Mart Laar's visit to Sweden and Finland is about to end. Over to Erik Samel.

[Samel] Premier Mart Laar took part in the festivities held in Helsinki today in honor of the Republic of Estonia's 75th independence anniversary. In addition to attending the festivities, the aim of this visit was also to develop bilateral relations.

One of the major problems for Estonia at the moment is how to make its state borders secure. During a meeting with Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho, Mart Laar noted that guarding the border against large numbers of refugees is being made more difficult, among other things, by organized crime. In order to cope with this, Laar requested further assistance from Finland in training border guards.

In addition to training border guards, Finland promised to take in some of the Kurdish refugees who are still in Estonia. However, only those Kurds who have relatives in Finland will have any hope of crossing the Gulf [of Finland].

At a news conference after the meeting with Esko Aho, Laar said that the return of the Kurds to Russia cannot be ruled out. According to what the premier said, in the

future Estonia intends to send any Kurdish refugees straight back to Russia from the border. He also stated that Estonia will not sign the Geneva convention on refugees until the country's living standards improve. Studying the content of the convention, it has been established that not even all Estonians enjoy such high living standards as the document stipulates for refugees. Since Russia has signed the Geneva convention, it is unlikely that the Kurds returned to Russia will be sent on to Iraq.

As to Estonia's capability to control her borders, in Laar's opinion this has improved considerably within the past six months. However, cooperation between Nordic countries is still necessary to preclude illegal border crossings. As Mart Laar noted, Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt promised technical assistance for controlling Estonian sea borders.

On Estonian economic issues, Mart Laar considered the implementation of privatization as the most important item. As to the Estonian fuel debt to Finland, Laar promised that the repayment of the loan will be speeded up. It was said that the EC can be expected to help on this issue.

Estonia in its turn hopes that Finland will introduce allowances for our agricultural produce.

Economy Minister Outlines New Structure for Ministry

WS2402104593 Tallinn BNS in English 1934 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Tallinn, Feb 23, BNS—Economics Minister Toomas Sildmae outlined the new structure of the Estonian Ministry of Economy during a general staff meeting today.

The new ministry was formed in a merger of the Ministries of Construction, Industry and Energy, and Trade. The three ministries employed a staff of 278.

The new ministry has four vice-chancellors in charge of different spheres of economy: Chancellor of Industry Peeter Tohver, Chancellor of Construction Aadu Kana, Chancellor of Trade Ulo Sarv and Chancellor of Energy Arvi Hamburg.

Two new departments, one for business and one for economic policy, will be set up within the ministry. In addition, the business department will deal with accounting and the leasing and privatization of state property, as well as the management of state companies.

Urmo Kala, the chancellor of the ministry, told BNS the ministries changed their structures to replace branch management with functional management.

Latvia

Foreign Minister Claims Russia Intent on Annexation

LD2202214993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Latvian Foreign Minister Georg Andreyev has claimed that Russia intends to annex Latvia. The minister gave an interview to the Austrian agency APA in Vienna. According to the minister, with the aid of pressure and propaganda, Russia is striving to create a situation in which a non-Latvian could come to power and thereby put an end to the independence of the republic. The minister also criticized Western countries that take Russia's side on this issue.

Parliament Demands on Russian Troop Withdrawal

LD2202231093 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Today behind closed doors, Minister of State Janis Dinevics informed the deputies of the People's Front of Latvia and the Satversme [constitution] factions of the parliament about the demand by Russia to allow it to bring into Latvia technical workers of various specialities for speeding up the army's withdrawal. Russia has announced that without involving such additional forces, it is not possible to operationally carry out dismantling jobs at army facilities.

As Deputy Ivars Silars told the journalists, the People's Front of Latvia faction decided at its sitting that, taking into consideration previous experience, when Russia has not always fulfilled its promises, the Latvian Government must prepare a special document of Latvian counterdemands. The People's Front of Latvia faction demands that Russia officially lay out at which facilities the new contingent will work, what jobs it will carry out there, and on what dates each of the facilities will be handed over. A similar stance also prevailed among the Satversme faction.

Working Group Discusses Withdrawal

OW2302190793 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1710 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On February 22 the Latvian government's working group headed by Minister of the State Janis Dinevics discussed the position that the Latvian leaders should take in bilateral negotiations with Russia on withdrawal of Russian army units from the country.

Eriks Tilgass, advisor of the Defense Minister, told Baltfax that at the new round of talks that will start in Moscow on March 17 Latvia will press for signing at

least three drafts, on railroad transportation of Russian army units, on the use of radio communication, and on post and telegraph services.

Tilgass said that the Russian delegation was drafting an accord on movement of Russian navy ships in the Latvian territorial waters and on transfer of the hydrographic service to the Latvian jurisdiction.

Russian Troops Mark Army Day; Group Protests

LD2302132893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] In Latvia today participants in the so-called peace march who have arrived from Moscow are getting ready to launch their efforts. In marking the day of the defenders of the fatherland, flowers and wreaths were laid at the monument to Soviet Army soldiers in Riga. Leonid Mayorov, commander of Russia's North-Western Group of Forces, Russian Ambassador to Latvia Aleksandr Rannikh, and participants in the peace march from Moscow attended the ceremony. Before the wreaths were presented, the state anthem of the Russian Federation was played. An honor guard of Russian Army soldiers was lined up during the laying of flowers and wreaths.

The press center of the North-Western Group of Forces has reported that the Russian Army is not planning any festivities outside its troop units.

The Fatherland [Tevzeme] National Association of Latvia has called on the citizens of Latvia not to allow the peace march that representatives of the imperialistically disposed circles of Russia wish to hold today. The association believes that Latvian authorities have no right to permit the commemoration of 23 February, the former Soviet Army Day. The association also believes that all the deputies and administration officials who are ready to meet with the participants in the peace march must be categorically condemned.

'Unsanctioned' Celebration Held

WS2402103993 Tallinn BNS in English 2127 GMT 23 Feb 93

["Procommunist Forces Hold Unsanctioned Meeting in Riga"—BNS headline]

[Text] Riga, Feb 23, BNS—As many as 1500 people took part in an unsanctioned meeting at the Victory Monument in Riga Tuesday [23 February] afternoon. They had gathered to celebrate the former Soviet Army Day, now renamed to the Day of Defenders of Homeland.

The meeting was organized by the Society for Defense of Veterans Rights, also participating were representatives of the "Peace March" action, however, they left the site after reprimanded by Latvian authorities against consequences of foreign citizens' participation in an unsanctioned event.

The course of the meeting was observed by Internal Minister Ziedonis Cevers who told BNS his presence was due to his wish to personally supervise preservation of the public order. Cevers said the organizers of the meeting would be prosecuted in compliance with the existing legislation. Cevers described the proceedings at the Victory Monument as political prostitution.

The meeting was over in 40 minutes. Afterwards its participants dissembled singing patriotic Soviet songs. The slogans presented at the meeting read "Racism is near, antifascists - unite!" "We want double citizenship!" "Latvian laws should not provoke another Karabakh!" etc. Many people held former Soviet flags and Lenin's portraits.

Foreign Trade Minister Resigns; Kristaps Acting

WS2402082593 Riga LETA in English 1502 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Riga, 23 February 1993 (LETA)—Edgars Zausajevs, the Minister of Foreign Trade of Latvia, has resigned of his post. Ivars Godmanis, Chairman of the Ministers Council, on Monday [22 February] appointed Visvaldis Kristaps as acting minister of foreign trade.

Democratic Labor Party Congress Convenes 20-21 Feb

WS2302103593 Riga LETA in English 1312 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Riga, February 22 (LETA)—The fourth regular congress of the Democratic Labor Party of Latvia (LDDP) was convened during the weekend. The party membership amounts to three thousand people, and presently it is the largest of all left political movements here in Latvia.

"We have to get rid of the red shadow we are casting," at the conclusion of the congress said Juris Bojars, chairman of the LDDP. The chairman pointed out that process of the party's formation is under way still and there was a strong probability that in due time the LDDP could develop into a national and liberal party of a European type.

An issue of an eventual coalition for the forthcoming general elections of the parliament or Saeima was widely discussed during the congress. As one of the closest eventual allies the Union of the Latvian Agriculturists (LLS) was mentioned. However, Vilnis Bresis, the leader of the union, pointed out during his speech that the LLS would rather enter some larger coalition of centrist forces. Vilnis Bresis also stressed that neither the rating of the LLS nor the one of LDDP was high enough they could cherish any substantial hope to achieve a serious success in parliamentary elections even with joint forces.

The programmatic stance of the Democratic Labor Party of Latvia after two days of discussion was formulated in the following way:

"The LDDP does not want Latvia to turn into an unstable nation of two communities. The Latvians are eager to eliminate consequences of occupation and to restore Latvia as a state of ethnically single composition. The constitution of Latvia or Satversme should be complemented by a thesis that the Republic of Latvia is a nation of Latvians, which had been established as the result of self-determination of the Latvian people. It means that the Latvian state will have an obligation to grant ethnic Latvians living abroad a real opportunity to return to their fatherland. It does not mean, though, that segregation on the principles of one's ethnic origin will be allowed here, in Latvia. The constitution has to be complemented with a thesis about guarantee for rights of ethnic minorities."

A stance of the LDDP on the issue of the Latvian citizenship was also altered. Delegates of the congress voted for a motion that citizenship would be granted for the permanent residents who had lived in Latvia the last decade and knew Latvian at least on conversational level. Delegates approved a decision that the prior right to be allotted the land should go to those who work on it, and in controversial cases the former proprietors should be paid a compensation.

The fourth congress of the LDDP accepted several resolutions. In one of the resolutions delegates of the congress voted their concern about a draft budget for 1993, which was approved in the first reading by the Supreme Council of Latvia. Delegates of the congress demanded to grant payment of social grants in any case.

Officials Assess Congress

LD2102230193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 93

[Report by correspondent Haralds Burkovskis on fourth congress of Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia held on 20 and 21 February, including recorded comments by Party Board Member Ojars Skudra and recorded interview with Party Chairman Juris Bojars]

[Text] [Burkovskis] This congress was convened with the purpose of arranging and adopting the economic and political pre-election documents of the party. Election of the board and the party chairman took place today. We will tell you about the new composition of the board tomorrow, but I asked a member of the board, Ojars Skudra, to talk about the results of the election for chairman.

[Skudra] In the election Karlis Podnieks received 23 votes, and Juris Bojars received 27, so he was elected with the required majority.

[Burkovskis] Asked about the formation of pre-election coalitions of the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia, Ojars Skudra said:

[Skudra] We will take the position that the broadest possible coalition of democratic forces should be formed, so that these forces will win a majority in the fifth Saeima. To my mind, yes, I would like to emphasize this, it is my opinion that such consultations must take place with the Democratic Center Party, with the Young People's Progress Union, with the Farmer's Union of Latvia, of course, with pensioners' organizations, certainly with the trade unions.

[Burkovskis] They have concluded the congress, and I asked Juris Bojars, chairman of the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia, what was accomplished during the past two days.

[Bojars] This was really a hard congress, in which we practically prepared ourselves as a party for the elections. The previous congress was a kind of festive affair, you see, with drinking of beer, with big dances. This time, too, we had dances, people are people. But it was politically much more serious. By a big majority, the party voted that Latvia must be built into a national state. I think that we will make a law-governed state, and, first of all, we Latvians have nowhere to retreat any longer. I think that we will agree with the Russians on this question. I think that in talking with them it is always better to use direct and frank language rather than to maneuver and to lose trust both in front of Russians and in front of Latvians.

[Burkovskis] The congress (?also) adopted formulations for economic life.

[Bojars] We adopted an economic platform at the level of basic principles, because it is clear to everybody what a market economy means, in general outlines. But there may be a varied approach for the implementation of this market economy. There is one, when you are told that an absolute liberal capitalist state must be made with complete freedom, in a word, with freedom to rob, which is no kind of a market economy. We have here, for the time being, a kind of law-governed anarchy. We do not have a law-governed state operating. There are not even signs of a law-governed state, I would like to say. We must build this law-governed state in practice, in order for people to feel that they are protected on the streets, that they are protected at work, socially protected, that they are protected at home against criminals. Order must start to be introduced in our republic.

[Burkovskis] Your party has escaped the divisions characteristic of many political organizations.

[Bojars] The nucleus of the party succeeded in holding the discussion within a kind of tactical framework, to avoid washing dirty laundry in public. The opposition was not able to fully evade this temptation. Our side, which took a stand for a national republic, for a democratic Latvia, for a principled—you see, like that—adherence to human rights in Latvia, you see, it after all succeeded in keeping everything within the limits of kind of tact, we did not let ourselves into this scandal [sentence as heard].

[Burkovskis] May we now, after the congress, say that the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia has become a qualitatively new one?

[Bojars] At the present moment, with those documents which we adopted, we improved it. I am more than convinced of this.

Lithuania

Slezevicius Confirmed as Prime Minister Candidate

LD2302114193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] It has been confirmed by the leader of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party that Adolfas Slezevicius is the most likely claimant to the post of the prime minister.

Gediminas Kirkilas, acting chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party and deputy head of the party's faction in the Seimas, confirmed to the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE correspondent that Adolfas Slezevicius, former deputy minister of agriculture, was the most likely candidate to the post of the prime minister. His candidature has been actively discussed and, according to Kirkilas, Slezevicius will be presented to the Democratic Labor Party faction.

According to Kirkilas, it will be proposed that this candidate be discussed by other factions as well. Kirkilas said: I do not know what the opinion of other factions will be; I think that perhaps some of them will render their support, although I do not see any qualities in him which could be spoken against. Kirkilas said that Slezevicius, member of the Council of the above party, has the experience of a businessman, has a relatively good knowledge of the activity of Western businessmen, and is a fairly good diplomat. According to Kirkilas, as a prime minister he should make a good impression on the Western businessmen; besides he will be able to work actively in order to attract foreign investment to Lithuania. I think that Slezevicius is not only able to carry out the reforms, he can do it more vigorously than the previous leaders of the government, Kirkilas added.

Democratic Labor Party Urges 'National Concord'

WS2302113593 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1327 GMT 23 Feb 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 190]

[Text] 22 February 1993—On Friday [19 February] the Council of the Lithuanian Democratic Party publicized a statement which among other things says: "It's not the first time that Lithuania faces the problem of national concord. We realize that without concurrence and collaboration we can hardly expect effective work in grappling with our economic hardships, meeting the dire social needs the poverty stricken strata of society, old people, invalids and pensioners in particular. The people of Lithuania are patient, however their patience ought not to be abused. Political games should not be allowed to overwhelm the solution of the ordinary urgent problems.

"The idea of national concord was raised by the DLP [Democratic Labor Party] as far back as 1990. Following the election the new Parliament of Lithuania, a concord declaration was proposed by the Social Democrats. Unfortunately, those initiatives passed without approval. When will the senseless contention about who was the first to come forth with this idea or which political force should become the central focus for the consolidation of the nation come to an end?

"We trust that the fate of Lithuania is the primary concern of all the political forces, parties and movements of Lithuania, though each of them may differently perceive the true way to laying the foundations of stable and just society, civilized modern statehood.

"We call on all the Members of the Seimas to sign the declaration of national concord proposed by the Social Democrats pledging to it our full support. We call on all the political parties to hold constant consultations in seeking solutions to the principal problems of the State."

Main Election Commission Postpones Meeting to 27 Feb

OW2302122893 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1057 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The absence of a quorum prevented Lithuania's main election commission from having its session scheduled for February 22. As BF [BALTFAX] has been told in the commission, the meeting was postponed for Saturday, February 27.

The session was to confirm the results of last Tuesday's local elections in the so-called Polish areas—Vilnius and Salcinikai districts and in the community of the Ignalina nuclear power station workers—Visaginas.

The commission was also to discuss the question of the Supreme Court's decisions on the elections to the Lithuanian Seimas in 1992. As is known the Democratic Party of Labor started legal action against the election commission to contest the election returns in three constituencies. Although the Supreme Court's verdict was in the party's favor, the commission has not taken any decision on it so far.

Statistics Department Reports 1992 Foreign Trade Results

WS2202142093 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 1036 GMT 21 Feb 93

[Text] The Lithuanian Statistics Department reports that in 1992 the country's volume of foreign trade rose 8.7-fold in actual prices compared with 1991.

Trade with Western countries grew 30.4 times (exports by 49.3 times and imports by 16.6 times), while trade with the CIS, Latvia, Estonia and Georgia increased 7.1-fold (6.5 and 8 times, respectively).

Overall, Lithuania has a surplus trade balance in 1992, though it reports a trade deficit with Russia and Kazakhstan (surplus in 1991) and a surplus in trade with Azerbaijan, Moldavia and Uzbekistan (deficient in 1991).

The volume of foreign economic activities in 1992 amounts to USD [U.S. dollars] 707 million, or 42.6 percent of the overall foreign trade volume.

	Exports USD million	Share in total exports in percentage	Imports USD million	Share in total exports in percentage
total	517	51	190	31
services	80	96	0.0	7
machines, equipment transport vehicles	24	37	32	46
fuels, mineral resources, metals	12	18	25	22
chemicals	73	85	99	52
building materials and assemblies	187	47	1	37
raw materials and products thereof (non-foodstuffs)	25	60	13	43
live cattle	0.0	100	—	—
raw materials for foodstuffs	0.0	33	0.0	1
foodstuffs	71	64	6	57
consumer goods	45	41	14	42

In 1992, Western countries had 24.4 percent of Lithuania's overall volume of foreign trade (against 7 percent in 1991) with the remaining 75.6 percent (93 percent in 1991) representing the CIS, Latvia, Estonia and Georgia.

Lithuania's main trade partners (in percent of the overall volume):

Russia	40.7
Ukraine	11.7
Belarus	11.6
Germany	4.6
Latvia	3.4
Poland	2.8
U.K.	2.2

Exports to Western countries involved primarily foodstuffs (30.7 percent) and chemical and oil products (23.7 percent), while supplies to the CIS, Latvia, Estonia and Georgia dealt mostly with machines and metal-cutting equipment (29.7 percent) and garments (21.3 percent).

At the same time, Western imports to Lithuania are led by agricultural products (25 percent) and machines and metal articles (23.8 percent), while over half of imports from the CIS, Latvia, Estonia and Georgia (55.9 percent) involve oil and gas products.

Russia To Receive Convertible Currency for Gas

LD2302184193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Beginning 1 March, Lithuania will pay in convertible currency for natural gas supplied by Russia. According to Ada Medelinskiene, director of the department of economy at the Ministry of Power Engineering, this is the best way in the present situation when, due to the devaluation of the ruble against the dollar, the price of natural gas purchased by Lithuania has outstripped the world price.

Paying in dollars, the Russian [name indistinct] concern agrees to charge $82 for 1,000 cubic meters—not $85 as agreed previously. In converting this into coupons at today's rate of exchange, this would cost about 36,000 coupons, whereas today, paying in rubles, 1,000 cubic meters of gas costs more than 48,000 coupons.

The Ministry of Power Engineering has submitted to the government a new draft list of prices to the consumers, whereby they would pay for natural gas in convertible currency or in coupons at that day's exchange rate of the Bank of Lithuania. The ministry itself would buy currency for coupons and settle accounts with the suppliers.

This draft will be discussed tomorrow at a government meeting.

French Defense Minister Arrives for Visit

LD2202215893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1949 GMT 22 Feb 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius February 22 TASS—French Defence Minister Pierre Joxe has arrived in Vilnius on an official one-day visit tonight. Upon arrival he met with Lithuanian President Algidras Brazauskas and had talks with his Lithuanian counterpart Audrius Butkevicius.

The Lithuanian minister for republic's defence said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that "Pierre Joxe has arrived in Lithuania to expand contacts between the two military departments, discuss problems of further cooperation and issues of building a new model of the European system of security in Europe, including states of the Baltic region."

On Tuesday morning [23 February], the French defence minister is expected to lay wreaths on the graves of victims of the January 1991 Vilnius tragedy, buried at Antakalsk cemetery, and have another round of talks with his Lithuanian counterpart.

At midday, the French defence minister will depart from Lithuania.

The current visit is the first one ever made by a member of the French government at such a high level. Paris is rendering assistance to the newly established Lithuanian Armed Forces in providing them with light military equipment. Recently, second-hand field jeeps, a large batch of gas-masks and camp tents were sent to the Lithuanian Defence Ministry.

Butkevicius Assesses Visit

LD2302175593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Excerpts] French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe arrived in Vilnius yesterday for an official visit on the invitation of Lithuanian Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius.

Pierre Joxe told journalists that France started looking for possibilities for cooperation with the Lithuanian national defense structures immediately after Lithuania had proclaimed the restoration of independence act. Pierre Joxe regards as the official start of establishing links the international seminar on the security of the Baltic countries which took place in Riga, where he met the heads of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian national defense. That was when Audrius Butkevicius invited me to visit Lithuania, Pierre Joxe said.

Pierre Joxe stressed that the leadership of the Republic of France, and first of all President Francois Mitterrand, is making efforts to support the development of democracy in the countries which have won back their independence. The links of the French Ministry of Defense with the Lithuanian Ministry of National Defense are also based on this policy.

During the official dinner given in honor of the guest by President Algirdas Brazauskas, and during the meeting with the leaders of the Ministry of National Defense, general issues of European defense and mutual cooperation in the military sphere were discussed. Pierre Joxe said that military pressure on establishing democratic societies has recently been noticed in Europe, and the most outstanding example of this is the (?recent events) in the Republic of Yugoslavia. We must think together how to avoid this, he said. [passage omitted]

Pierre Joxe was seen off on his departure by Audrius Butkevicius and his deputies. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Zenonas Miksys] Here is a brief interview with Audrius Butkevicius, minister of national defense, just near the personal plane of the French defense minister.

I failed to get an interview from your guest before he got on the plane to return to France, therefore, I would like to ask for your assessment of the visit of the French minister to the Republic of Lithuania.

[Butkevicius] Although this was a very brief visit, it was also a very effective one. First of all, this is the first visit by a member of the government of a foreign country since the elections. The fact that this was a visit by France testifies to our good relations with that country and to the good prospects for these relations. As you know, the government has changed in Lithuania, and in about a month the French Government will change, therefore this visit indicates and determines a certain trend in our relations in the future. Therefore, I would assess this visit as an expression of strong friendship.

A number of important issues related to the problem of increasing security and stability in our region and the employment of mutual relations between both states for this purpose were discussed during the visit. [end recording]

Bobelis, Estonian Foreign Minister on Foreign Policy

WS1902152193 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1756 GMT 18 Feb 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 188]

[Text] 18 February 1993—Yesterday the Chairman of the Seimas' Committee of Foreign Affairs Kazys Bobelis met with the Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs Trivimi Velliste. Bobelis said that regulations of the Lithuanian foreign policy would not change, though in the field of economic relations Lithuania will keep to a more flexible policy, as the country needs raw materials from Russia and looks for a possibility to export its production to the East.

The Estonian Foreign Minister agrees with the suggestion of the Latvian Foreign Ministry to organize a meeting of the Baltic Chairmen of Foreign Committees and Foreign Ministers. The meeting is to take place in March, its aim is to discuss the cooperation policy of the three Baltic States, the problems of state borders and cooperation agreements. Kazys Bobelis regretted that the union and relationship of the Baltic States had not been very sincere, not a single cooperation agreement has been signed during the past three years.

Trivimi Velliste asked Bobelis to support Estonia in its bid to join the European Council. Bobelis assured him that Lithuania, which hopes to become a member of EC in May, will always support Estonia and protect Estonia's interests like its own.